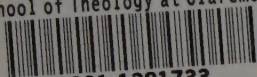
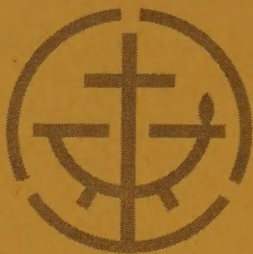


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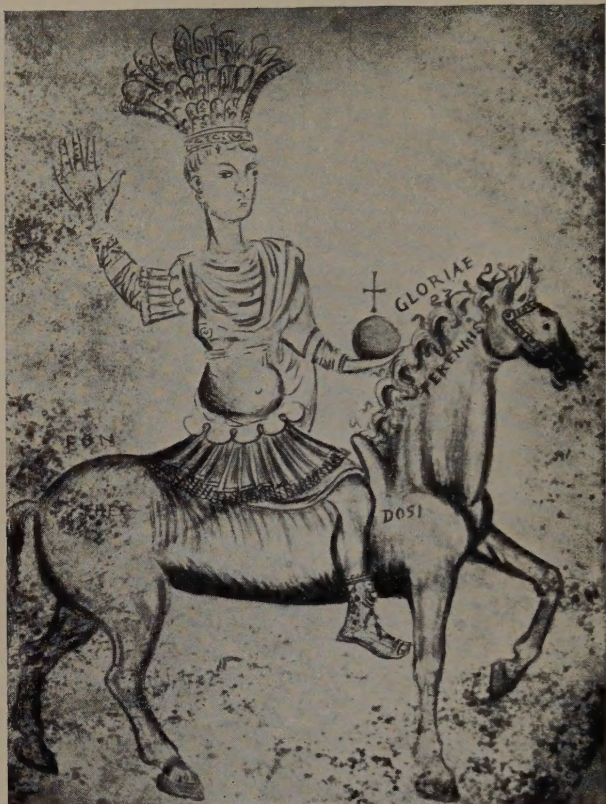
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PROCOPIUS

VII



FIFTEENTH-CENTURY DRAWING OF THE STATUE OF JUSTINIAN
IN THE AUGUSTAEUM AT CONSTANTINOPLE

(See the Appendix)

Procopius, of Caesarea.

PROCOPIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
THE LATE H. B. DEWING, Ph.D., L.H.D.
FORMER PRESIDENT ATHENS COLLEGE, GREECE

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF
GLANVILLE DOWNEY, Ph.D.
DUMBARTON OAKS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VII

BUILDINGS
GENERAL INDEX TO PROCOPIUS



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
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PROLOGUE

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
THE LATE H. R. JENNINGS, F.R.S., F.R.I.C.
AND A FOREWORD BY THE AUTHOR

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF
G. J. L. DOWNEY, F.R.S.

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IN SEVEN VOLUMES

VII

GENERAL INDEX TO PROLOGUE



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PREFATORY NOTE

IN the preparation of this translation for the press, Dr. Dewing has received the collaboration of Dr. Downey, of the Institute for Advanced Study, and of Professor E. Baldwin Smith, of Princeton University. Dr. Downey read the manuscript and made suggestions concerning the translation; he also contributed parts of the commentary and prepared the Introduction. Professor Smith revised those portions of the translation which are concerned with architectural matters, selected the architectural drawings, and also generously read the whole of the translation and offered valuable criticism of it.

THE EDITORS

INTRODUCTION

THE praise which Procopius bestows on Justinian in the *Buildings* would, as Bury remarked, astonish us as coming from the author of the *Wars* even if the *Secret History* had been lost or never written.¹ The criticism of the Emperor which appears in veiled passages in the *Wars* had been elaborated with minute care in the *Secret History*, written in 550; but this libel of course was designed to remain unpublished during Justinian's lifetime, and the treatise on the *Buildings*, published in 560 or soon after,² would have presented, in appearance at least, a wonderful change in the writer's feelings. The introduction to the work declares that the Emperor saved and transformed the State, drove back the barbarians, rescued religion from error and reformed the laws; and when the writer goes on, in the remainder of the book, to tell how Justinian fortified the frontiers, restored and founded cities, and everywhere made provision for the safety and comfort of his subjects, no opportunity is lost to point out the Emperor's wisdom, generosity and ingenuity.

To account for this apparent change on the part of

¹ J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, London, 1923, II, p. 428.

² The date is given by the statement (V. iii. 10) that the construction of a bridge over the Sangarius was in progress when Procopius wrote; Theophanes (A.M. 6052, I, p. 234, 15-18 ed. De Boor) states that this work was carried out in the year A.D. 559-60.

INTRODUCTION

Procopius is not entirely possible, for the scanty evidence is capable of interpretation in different ways.¹ Though the wish to flatter the Emperor is obvious, it is difficult to determine whether the circumstances which furnished the immediate occasion for writing the book differed from the original motives which Procopius may have had for planning it. A number of reasons why Procopius should have written the treatise can be suggested. He may have wished to defend himself from the charges of disloyalty which could have been brought against him as a result of the criticisms of the administration which he allowed to appear in the *Wars*. On the other hand, he may have acted either in gratitude for official preferment or in the hope of it; but these motives must remain conjectural, for though we know that he had the title of *illustris*,² there is nothing to shew that this was given to him before or after the publication of the *Buildings*. Again, a Procopius was city-prefect of Constantinople in 562,³ shortly after the publication of the *Buildings*; but the name was not uncommon, and it remains only a possibility that it was the author of the *Buildings* to whom this office was given as a reward for this work. Or it is possible

¹ Cf. F. Dahn, *Prokopius von Cäsarea*, Berlin, 1865, pp. 352-67; J. Haury, *Procopiana*, I, Augsburg, 1891, pp. 28-31, 34; K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, ed. 2, Munich, 1897, pp. 232 f.; Ch. Diehl, *Justinien et la civilisation byzantine au VI^e siècle*, Paris, 1901, pp. xiii. xviii f.; P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 44, 54; Bury, *loc. cit.* On Procopius's relations with Justinian, see also Haury, "Prokop und der Kaiser Justinian," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxxvii, 1937, pp. 1-9.

² Suidas, *σ.ν. Προκόπιος*.

³ Theophanes, A.M. 6055, I, pp. 238, 10: 239, 7 ed. De Boor; cf. Haury, *Procopiana*, I, pp. 34 f.

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that the work was undertaken by imperial command or desire, directly or indirectly conveyed.¹ Finally, it is possible to detect a hint of personal gratitude in the introduction of the work,² and an effort has been made, though without complete success, to shew that there were circumstances in Procopius's life which caused him to feel such gratitude to the Emperor.³ Depending upon one's belief or disbelief in these grounds, the work can be read either as a panegyric, containing a greater or less amount of irony, or as a recantation, spontaneous or constrained, of the writer's earlier criticism of the Emperor.⁴

¹ Procopius writes, in I. iii. 1: "We must begin with the churches of Mary Mother of God. For we know that this is the wish of the Emperor himself, and true reason manifestly demands that from God one must proceed to the Mother of God." This allusion does not, however, seem sufficient to prove that the Emperor ordered the work: he could, for example, have expressed his wish after he learned that the book was planned or was being written.

² I. i. 4: "Apart from all this, history shews that subjects who have received benefits have proved themselves grateful toward their benefactors, and that they have repaid them with thank-offerings in generous measure, seeing that while they have profited, it may be, for the moment only by the beneficence of their rulers, they nevertheless preserve their sovereigns' virtue imperishable in the memory of those who are to come after them."

³ Haury believed (*Zur Beurteilung des Geschichtschreibers Procopius*, Munich, 1896, pp. 19, 44 f.) that Procopius was grateful to Justinian for avenging the murder of his father Stephanus, an official in Palestine, and saving the family property. Haury is, however, unable to find enough evidence to make the theory convincing; cf. Bury, *op. cit.* II, p. 420, n. 1.

⁴ Either interpretation is possible in several instances in which Procopius gives, in the *Buildings*, descriptions and

INTRODUCTION

In the circumstances it is not possible to prove any one of these explanations satisfactorily. They need not, however, be mutually exclusive, and it is conceivable that all these motives may have been present in the author's mind, in various degrees and combinations, when he wrote the work. A passage in the *Wars* suggests, indeed, that Procopius contemplated writing such a book as early as 545;¹ but it is possible, if not likely, that when he actually wrote it he was impelled by motives quite different from those which he may originally have had.

The subject was inherently dull and monotonous, and much of Procopius's treatment of it is perfunctory, being controlled in large measure by his rhetorical tendency; he was also limited not only by the nature of his material but by the necessity of keeping the Emperor constantly in the foreground. Yet the flattery of the Emperor was not necessarily, to Procopius and his contemporaries, as exaggerated and pointless as it now seems. By long tradition each Roman and each Byzantine Emperor was regarded as the direct source and origin of all the

interpretations of events which are quite different from those which he gives elsewhere (cf. Haury, *Procopiana*, I, pp. 31-33). Compare, for example, *Buildings* I. i. 9 with *Secret History* xiii. 7; *Buildings* I. i. 25, 26 with *Secret History* xxi. 7, 9, 22-25; *Buildings* IV. ii. 15 with *Secret History* xxvi. 31-33.

¹ *Wars* II. xii. 29; cf. Haury, *Procopiana*, I, pp. 18, 28, and in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxxiv, 1934, p. 10. But there are many instances in which Procopius announced (as he does in the present passage) that he would describe a certain subject or incident in another place, and then failed to do so. There is also a passage in the *Secret History*, written in 550, in which Procopius seems to allude to his intention of writing the *Buildings*; see below, note on II. vii. 4.

INTRODUCTION

public building operations executed during his reign.¹ In pagan thought the ruler was a god among men, and in the Christian Empire he became the Vice-regent of God on earth (the Empire being a *mimesis* of Heaven). The Hellenistic ruler and the Roman and the Christian Byzantine Emperor thus represented the source and "creator" of all things on earth. So if Justinian is portrayed as personally responsible for the design and construction of public buildings of all kinds and in every part of the Empire, his rôle was only one phase of his constant and pervading care for his subjects. The Emperor's importance in this respect is only heightened when on occasion he receives guidance and inspiration from God;² and the assistance which he receives from his master-builders is but another manifestation of God's watchfulness in providing the Emperor with the best means for the execution of his mission, which was, as Procopius says, "to watch over the whole Roman Empire and, so far as was possible, to remake it."³

Naturally, Procopius's adulation of the Emperor was not motivated entirely by this conception; but it certainly was made possible by it; and if Procopius felt any hesitation in heaping up the flattery

¹ On this conception cf. Downey, "Imperial Building Records in Malalas," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxxviii, 1938, pp. 1-15. In addition to the studies cited there, reference may be made to W. Schubart, "Das Gesetz und der Kaiser in griechischen Urkunden," *Klio*, xxx, 1937, pp. 54-69, and L. Berlinger, *Beiträge zur inoffiziellen Titulatur der römischen Kaiser: Eine Untersuchung ihres ideengeschichtlichen Gehaltes und ihrer Entwicklung*, Breslau, 1935.

² I. i. 71; II. iii. 8, 13; V. vi. 19, 20; cf. I. i. 61.

³ II. vi. 6; cf. I. i. 25-26, II ix. 11.

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of Justinian (though it is debatable whether such a scruple occurred to him) his doubts would have been removed by the thought that his account in this respect could be considered normal and in no way grotesque. And of course the official correctness of his presentation would provide an admirable screen for the irony which some scholars find in the work.

It is partly because of this conception that the titles which Procopius gives to Anthemius, Isidorus and Chryses have been translated here as "master-builder." Procopius generally uses *mechanikos* or *mechanopoios* in speaking of these men,¹ and Isidorus is called *mechanikos* in an inscription of Chalcis in Syria which records work executed there in A.D. 550-1—evidently the repair of the circuit-wall which Procopius describes.² These craftsmen are always spoken of as "serving" or "assisting" the Emperor in his undertakings;³ they apply to him for help when their skill is unable to cope with a difficult situation, and the devices with which he overcomes these problems are beyond their powers of imagination.⁴ The implication conveyed in the modern term "master-builder" thus seems to express most closely the relationship which Procopius sought to depict. It is necessary to use it also because the modern terms "architect" and "engineer" impute to ancient workers methods and resources which, however great their skill, they did not possess.

¹ I. i. 24, 71, 76; II. iii. 2, 11, 14. Their craft is called *μηχανική* (I. i. 24; *Wars* II. xiii. 26) and *τὰ μηχανικά* (II. iii. 7).

² See the notes on II. xi. 1 and viii. 25

³ Their work is spoken of as *ὑπουργία*, e.g. II. viii. 25; cf. I. i. 24.

⁴ I. i. 68-78; II. iii. 7-13.

INTRODUCTION

There is a notable exception to Procopius's usage: in his reference to Trajan's bridge across the Danube he says that Apollodorus of Damascus was "*architektôn* of the whole work."¹ This is the only passage in the *Buildings* in which Procopius uses the word *architektôn*, and its appearance here suggests that he made a distinction between the relationship of the "master-builders" to Justinian and the relationship of similar craftsmen to other emperors: apparently Procopius wished to imply that Justinian had a greater share of originality and responsibility in such work than his predecessors had had, a thought which of course would not necessarily, in the case of Trajan, run counter to the conception of the ruler as the originator of public building operations.

For sources, it is plain from the amount of information which Procopius gives that he had access to official records of some sort: the use of such material is indicated particularly by his three long lists² of fortresses and other buildings. In addition, he must have used the knowledge acquired during his own travels,³ and he probably drew also upon the experiences of others.⁴ It is of course not to be expected that all his information, especially that concerning work done in remote districts, is completely accurate. Many of the place-names are corrupted, for in addition to the dangers of corruption in manuscript tradition to which unusual names are peculiarly exposed, the names may have been garbled in the records which Procopius used, and he may himself have transcribed them inaccurately. In the present edition it is impossible to deal with the problems

¹ IV. vi. 13.

² IV. iv. and xi.; V. ix.

³ Cf. II. iv. 3; VI. vii. 18

⁴ Cf. VI. vii. 18.

INTRODUCTION

thus created. The more important of the places mentioned have, however, been identified so far as it is possible, and their modern names given; and a few studies of individual sites have been mentioned in the notes.¹

To facilitate the use of the translation by students of the history of architecture, the Greek architectural terms have sometimes been transliterated in the English version, and a selection of these words has been gathered in the Index under the heading Architectural Terms. When the same term occurs several times in a single passage, it has usually been transliterated only at its first occurrence, and when the English term which is used in that place recurs, the reader can assume that it represents the same Greek term. In certain passages, however, it has seemed desirable to repeat the transliteration of the same word several times in order to make clearer the way in which different terms are used by Procopius. When "stoa" has been used in the translation to represent Greek *στοά*, no transliteration has been added; but when it is necessary to translate Greek *στοά* by different words ("colonnaded stoa," "portico," etc.) the transliteration has been supplied.² Certain

¹ For a recent example of a study of the geographical material in the *Buildings*, see P. Skok, "De l'importance des listes toponomastiques de Procope pour la connaissance de la latinité balkanique," *Revue internationale des études balkaniques*, iii. 1937, pp. 47-58.

² Procopius nearly always employs *stoa* to describe any structure which consists basically of a covered colonnade (see the entry for *stoa* in the heading Architectural Terms in the Index); once he uses *embolos* for a covered portico in a wall (*Buildings*, III. v. 11) and twice he speaks of *peristylai aulai* (*Buildings*, I. i. 58, II. x. 20). In this translation, "stoa" alone is employed when the nature of the structure is

INTRODUCTION

terms with well-established and unmistakeable meanings (e.g. *peribolos*, "circuit-wall"; *proteichisma*, "outworks"; *pyrgos*, "tower") occur so frequently in this work that it has seemed unnecessary to transliterate them except in passages in which it is desirable to distinguish them from other terms. In some instances, of course, Procopius employs literary locutions in place of technical terms, and it has usually seemed unnecessary to attempt to reproduce his phraseology in transliteration; in such cases the translation has generally been made as literal as possible.

The material gathered in the Index does not comprise all the occurrences of all the technical terms which Procopius uses. This collection is intended rather to represent unusual words, words which Procopius employs with different shades of meaning or in quite different senses, and in general terms such as *apsis*, *tholos* and *stoa* which are often used so loosely by ancient writers that it is always desirable to collect examples of them. In some instances words have been included because they happen to occur in contexts which make their meanings unusually clear. When the meaning of a word is well established, and when its use by Procopius has no significance either for his technique of description

clear from the context; "porch" and "portico" are sometimes employed in special cases, and sometimes "colonnaded stoa" and "stoa-like colonnade" are used when it is necessary to indicate that Procopius is using *στοά* to describe both the columns and the whole of the structure of which they form a part. Cf. Downey, "The Architectural Significance of the Use of the Words *Stoa* and *Basiliké* in Classical Literature," *American Journal of Archaeology*, xli, 1937, pp. 194-211

INTRODUCTION

or for the history of architecture, it has seemed unnecessary to list it.

The *Buildings* was first published, incompletely, by Beatus Rhenanus at Basel in 1531; his edition was reprinted at Paris in 1543. A more complete text was edited by David Hoeschel at Augsburg in 1607. The next edition was that of Claudius Maltretus (Paris, 1663), which was reprinted at Venice in 1729. The text was again edited by G. Dindorf at Bonn in 1838, largely on the basis of Maltretus's edition. The present edition is based upon that of J. Haury in the Teubner series (Leipzig, 1913), though his text occasionally has been modified. There is an English translation by Aubrey Stewart, with notes by C. W. Wilson and Hayter Lewis, in the series of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society (London, 1896).

The plans and elevations used in this book, while redrawn, have been taken from the following publications, to which due acknowledgement is hereby given:

- W. R. Lethaby and H. Swainson, *The Church of Sancta Sophia*, London, Macmillan, 1894, Figs. 3 and 4.
- A. Van Millingen, R. Traquair, and others, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, London, Macmillan, 1912, Plan of SS. Sergius and Bacchus, p. 80.
- K. Wulzinger, "*Die Apostelkirche und die Mehmedije zu Konstantinopel*," *Byzantion*, vii, 1932, Plan of St. John's at Ephesus, p. 26.
- H. Spanner and S. Guyer, *Rusafa (Forschungen zur Islamischen Kunst*, hrsg. F. Sarre), Berlin, D. Reimer (E. Vohsen), 1926, Plans of fortifications, Plates 2, 4 and 5.

INTRODUCTION

The maps have been taken, with the omission of certain details, from the following publications, to which acknowledgement is made:

Van Millingen, *op. cit.*. Map of Constantinople, facing p. 15.

Cambridge Ancient History (Cambridge University Press), Map of the Euphrates Frontier, vol. I, map no. 7; Map of the Roman Empire, vol. II map no. 15.

At the last moment before this volume goes to press it is possible to add:

Kenneth J. Conant, "*The First Dome of St. Sophia and its Rebuilding*," *American Journal of Archaeology*, xliii (1939), 589-591, which has an important bearing upon the narrative of Procopius in I. 66 ff., pages 29-33 *infra*. Professor Conant's study of the architectural history of this church was to have appeared in the first issue for 1940 of the *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*, whose publication has been delayed by the war in Europe. In advance of that publication Professor Conant reproduces architectural drawings of the cross-section of the building which show (1) the original plan of the dome, (2) the deformation which occurred before the building settled, and (3) the reconstruction which took place in 558-563.

MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS CITED

A = Cod. Ambrosianus A 182 sup.

L = Cod. Laurentianus 70, 5.

V = Cod. Vaticanus 1065

I = Cod. Laurentianus 9, 32

Dindorf = W. Dindorf, ed. of 1838.

Haury = J. Haury, ed. of 1913.

Hoeschel = D. Hoeschel, ed. of 1603.

Maltretus = C. Maltretus, ed. of 1663.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA
BUILDINGS

ΠΡΟΚΟΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΚΤΙΣΜΑΤΩΝ

ΛΟΓΟΣ Α

P 2

α'. Οὐκ ἀρετῆς ἐπιδείξιν ποιεῖσθαι ἐθέλων,
οὐδὲ λόγου δυνάμει θαρσῶν, οὐδὲ χωρίων ἐπὶ τῇ
ἐμπειρίᾳ φιλοτιμούμενος, ἐς τῆσδε τῆς ἱστορίας
τὴν γραφὴν ὥρμηκα· ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲν ὑφ'
2 οὗ ἂν παρρησίας ἐς τόδε ἀγοίμην. ἀλλὰ μοι
πολλάκις ἔννοια γέγονεν ὁπόσων τε καὶ πηλίκων
ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον ἱστορία ταῖς πόλεσι γίνεσθαι
εἶωθε, παραπέμπουσά τε εἰς τοὺς ἐπιγόνους
τῶν προγεγενημένων τὴν μνήμην, καὶ ἀνταγωνι-
ζομένη τῷ χρόνῳ κρυφαῖα ποιεῖσθαι διατεινομένῳ
τὰ πράγματα, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀρετὴν εὐφημίαις αἰεὶ
τῶν ἀναλεγομένων αὐτὴν ἐπαίρουσα, τῆς δὲ
κακίας ἐπιλαμβανομένη διηνεκές, ταύτῃ τε ἀπο-
3 κρουομένη τὴν αὐτῆς δύναμιν. τούτου οὖν δὴ
μόνου ἐπιμελητέον ἡμῖν, ὅπως δὴ ἔνδηλα τὰ πεπραγ-
μένα διαφανῶς ἔσται καὶ ὑφ' ὅτου ἐργασθείη τῶν
πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ταῦτα δέ, οἶμαι, οὐδὲ γλώσση
τραυλιζούσῃ τε καὶ ἰσχυροφώνῳ οὔσῃ ἀμήχανά
4 ἔστι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων εὐγνώμονας μὲν ἱστορία
ἐς τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐνδείκνυται γεγονέναι τῶν
ἀρχομένων τοὺς εὖ πεπονθότας, ἐν μείζουσι δὲ

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

BUILDINGS

BOOK I

i. It is not because I wish to make a display of skill, nor through any confidence in my eloquence, nor because I pride myself on my personal knowledge of many lands, that I have set about writing this record; for indeed I had no grounds for venturing so bold an intention. Yet the thought has many times occurred to me, how many and how great are the benefits which are wont to accrue to states through History, which transmits to future generations the memory of those who have gone before, and resists the steady effort of time to bury events in oblivion; and while it incites to virtue those who from time to time may read it by the praise it bestows, it constantly assails vice by repelling its influence. Wherefore our concern must be solely this—that all the deeds of the past shall be clearly set forth, and by what man, whosoever he might be, they were wrought. And this, I believe, is not an impossible task, even for a lisping and thin-voiced tongue. Apart from all this, history shews that subjects who have received benefits have proved themselves grateful toward their benefactors, and that they have repaid them with

αὐτοῖς ἐκτετικέναι τὰ χαριστήρια, οἳ γε, ἂν οὕτω
τύχοι, ἐπὶ καιροῦ μὲν τῆς ἀγαθοεργίας τῶν ἐν
σφίσιιν ἡγησαμένων ἀπώναντο, ἀθάνατον δὲ αὐτοῖς
τῶν εἰς τὸ ἔπειτα ἐσομένων τῇ μνήμῃ τὴν ἀρετὴν
5 διασώζουσι. διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἐπιγίνο-
μένων πολλοὶ ἀρετῶσι μὲν τὰς τῶν προγεγενη-
μένων ζηλοῦντες τιμάς, ἐς δὲ τὰς βλασφημίας
χαλεπῶς ἔχοντες τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὰ πονηρό-
τατα, ὡς τὸ εἶκος, ἀναδύονται. ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα
ταῦτα ὑπεῖπον αὐτίκα δηλώσω.

B 171

6 Ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἰουστινιανὸς ὁ ¹ βασιλεὺς
γέγονεν, ὃς ² τὴν πολιτείαν πλημμελῶς κινουμένην
παραλαβὼν μεγέθει μὲν αὐτὴν μείζω τε καὶ
πολλῶ ἐπιφανεστέραν εἰργάσατο, ἐξελάσας ἐνθένδε
τοὺς ἐκ παλαιοῦ βιασαμένους αὐτὴν βαρβάρους,
ὥσπερ μοι λεπτολογουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν
P 3 7 πολέμων δεδῆλωται λόγοις. καίτοι λέγουσιν ποτε
Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν Νεοκλέους ³ ἀποσεμνύνεσθαι ὅτι
δὴ οὐκ ἀνεπιστημόνως ἔχοι πόλιν μικρὰν ⁴ ποιῆσαι
8 μεγάλην. ὁ δὲ δὴ οὐκ ἀμελέτητός ἐστιν ἐμπορί-
ζεσθαι πολιτείας ἐτέρας· πολλὰς ἀμέλει προσεποί-
ησεν ἤδη τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἀλλοτρίας καθ'
αὐτὸν οὔσας, πόλεις δὲ ἀναρίθμους δεδημιούργη-
9 κεν οὐ πρότερον οὔσας. πλανωμένην δὲ εὐρῶν
τὴν ἀμφὶ τῷ θεῷ δόξαν τὰ πρότερα ἐς πολλὰ τε
ἀναγκαζομένην ἰέναι, συντρίψας ἀπάσας τὰς ἐπὶ
τὰς πλάνας φερούσας ὁδοὺς, διεπράξατο ἐν τῷ
βεβαίῳ τῆς πίστεως ἐπὶ μιᾷς ἐστάναι κρηπίδος.

¹ ὁ V : om A.

² γέγονεν, ὃς om. A.

³ Νεοκλέους Hoeschel : νικοκλέους.

⁴ μικρὰν Hoeschel : μὴ V.

thank-offerings in generous measure, seeing that, while they have profited, it may be, for the moment only by the beneficence of their rulers, they nevertheless preserve their sovereigns' virtue imperishable in the memory of those who are to come after them.¹ Indeed it is through this very service that many men of later times strive after virtue, by emulating the honours of those who have preceded them, and, because they cannot endure censure, are quite likely to shun the basest practices. And the reason why I have made this preface I shall forthwith disclose.

In our own age there has been born the Emperor Justinian, who, taking over the State when it was harrassed by disorder, has not only made it greater in extent, but also much more illustrious, by expelling from it those barbarians who had from of old pressed hard upon it, as I have made clear in detail in the Books on the Wars. Indeed they say that Themistocles, the son of Neocles, once boastfully said that he did not lack the ability to make a small state large. But this Sovereign does not lack the skill to produce completely transformed states—witness the way he has already added to the Roman domain many states which in his own times had belonged to others, and has created countless cities which did not exist before. And finding that the belief in God was, before his time, straying into errors and being forced to go in many directions, he completely destroyed all the paths leading to such errors, and brought it about that it stood on the firm foundation

¹ It has been thought that Procopius here alludes to personal gratitude to the Emperor on his own part; see the *Introduction*, p. x.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 10 πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς νόμους λαβὼν τῷ τε παμπλη-
θεῖς οὐ δέον γεγονέναι σκοτεινοὺς ὄντας καὶ
ξυγχεομένους διαφανῶς τῷ ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἀλλή-
λοις ἵεναι, καὶ τοῦ μὲν ὄχλου αὐτοὺς τῆς τερθρείας
ἀποκαθάρας, τὸ δὲ ἐς¹ ἀλλήλους διχοστατεῖν
βεβαιοτάτα κρατυνόμενος διεσώσατο. καὶ τοῖς
μὲν ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτεπάγγελτος τὰς αἰτίας
ἀφείς, τοὺς δὲ βίου δεομένους πλούτῳ πεποιη-
μένος κατακορεῖς καὶ τύχην αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπηρεά-
ζουσαν βιασάμενος, εὐδαίμονι βίῳ τὴν πολιτείαν
11 ξυνώκισεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάροις πανταχόθεν ὑπο-
κειμένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν στρατιωτῶν τε
B 172 πλήθει ἐπέρρωσε καὶ ὀχυρωμάτων οἰκοδομίαις
ἀπάσας αὐτῆς τὰς ἐσχατίας ἐτειχίσατο.
- 12 Ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τὰ πλείστα ἐν ἑτέροις μοι
συγγέγραπται λόγοις, ὅσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἀγαθὰ οἰκο-
δομουμένῳ δεδημιούργηται, ἐν τῷ παρόντι γεγρά-
ψεται.² ἄριστον μὲν δὴ βασιλέα γεγονέναι Κῦρον
τὸν Πέρσῃ φασίν, ὣν ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν, τοῖς τε ὁμογενέσιν
13 αἰτιώτατον τῆς βασιλείας. εἰ δὲ τοιοῦτός τις
P 4 ἦν ὁ Κῦρος ἐκεῖνος οἷος δὴ ὑπὸ Ξενοφῶντι τῷ
14 Ἀθηναίῳ παιδεύεται, οὐκ ἔχω εἰδέναι. τάχα
γάρ που καὶ ἡ τοῦ γεγραφότος αὐτὰ δεξιότης
κεκομφευμένη δυνάμει τοῦ λόγου ἐγκαλλώπισμα
15 τῶν ἔργων γενέσθαι³ διαρκῶς ἴσχυσε. τοῦ δὲ

¹ τῷ before ἐς deleted by Maltretus.

² γεγράφεται Maltretus : γέγραπται.

³ For γενέσθαι Capps conjectures γεννᾶσθαι ("create").

¹ Quite a different interpretation of Justinian's actions in this respect is given in the *Secret History*, xiii. 7.

² This is thought to be a disguised reference to the *Secret History*, which was written before the present work, but designed to remain unpublished during Justinian's lifetime :

of a single faith.¹ Moreover, finding the laws obscure because they had become far more numerous than they should be, and in obvious confusion because they disagreed with each other, he preserved them by cleansing them of the mass of their verbal trickery, and by controlling their discrepancies with the greatest firmness; as for those who plotted against him, he of his own volition dismissed the charges against them, and causing those who were in want to have a surfeit of wealth, and crushing the spiteful fortune that oppressed them, he wedded the whole State to a life of prosperity. Furthermore, he strengthened the Roman domain, which everywhere lay exposed to the barbarians, by a multitude of soldiers, and by constructing strongholds he built a wall along all its remote frontiers.

However, most of the Emperor's other achievements have been described by me in my other writings,² so that the subject of the present work will be the benefits which he wrought as a builder. They do indeed say that the best king of whom we know by tradition was the Persian Cyrus, and that he was chiefly responsible for the founding of the kingdom of Persia for the people of his race. But whether that Cyrus was in fact such a man as he whose education from childhood up is described by Xenophon the Athenian, I have no means of knowing. For it may well be that the skill of the writer of that description was quite capable, such was his exquisite eloquence, of coming to be a mere embellishment of the facts.

Procopius seems to have designed the present passage so that it could be taken by contemporaries to refer to the *Wars*, the eight books of which had already been published, while posterity would know that it referred to the *Secret History* (cf. Haury in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxxvii, 1937, p. 5).

καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ (ὃν δὴ καὶ φύσει βασιλέα καλῶν τις, οἶμαι, ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴποι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατὴρ ὥς ἡπιός ἐστι, καθ' Ὅμηρον), εἴ τις ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὴν βασιλείαν διασκοποῖτο,

16 παιδιάν τινα τὴν Κύρου ἀρχὴν οἰήσεται εἶναι. τεκμηριώσει δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτο ἢ μὲν πολιτεία πρὸς αὐτοῦ, ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος εἴρηται, τῇ τε χώρα καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δυνάμει πλεῖν ἢ διπλασία γεγενημένη, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῷ σκαιωρησάμενοι μέχρι ἐς φόνον μὴ ὅτι βιοτεύοντες ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχοντες, καίπερ ἐξεληλεγμένοι διαφανῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατηγούντες Ῥωμαίων ἔτι καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀναγεγραμμένοι τελοῦσιν¹ ἀξίωμα.

17 Τανῦν δέ, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας τούτου δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῖν ἰτέον, ὥς μὴ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει ἐς τὸν ὀπισθεν χρόνον τοῖς αὐτὰς ■ θεωμένοις ξυμβαίῃ ὅτι δὴ ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς
B 173 18 ἔργα τυγχάνει ὄντα. πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη τῶν προγεγενημένων οὐκ ἐμπεδωθέντα τῷ λόγῳ τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄπιστα γέγονεν. εἴη δ' ἂν εἰκότως τὰ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παρὰ πάντα τῷ
19 λόγῳ κρηπίς. ἀρχομένου³ γὰρ ἔργου, κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν λόγον, πρόσωπον χρὴ θέμεναι τηλαυγές.

P 5 20 Ἄνδρες ἀγελαῖοί ποτε καὶ ὁ συρφετὸς ὅλος

¹ τελοῦσιν A : om. V.

² αὐτὰς Hoeschel : αὐτὰ V.

³ ἀρχομένου Dindorf : ἀρχομένῳ V.

⁴ ὅλος suggested by Haury (appendix, p. 395) : ὄχλος.

¹ *Odyssey*, II. 47, XV. 152.

² In the original there is a play upon the words παιδεία

But in the case of the king of our times, Justinian (whom one would rightly, I think, call a king by nature as well as by inheritance, since he is, as Homer says,¹ "as gentle as a father"), if one should examine his reign with care, he will regard the rule of Cyrus as a sort of child's play.² The proof of this will be that the Roman Empire, as I have just said, has become more than doubled both in area and in power generally, while, on the other hand, those who treacherously formed the plot³ against him, going so far even as to plan his assassination, are not only living up to the present moment, and in possession of their own property, even though their guilt was proved with absolute certainty, but are actually still serving as generals of the Romans, and are holding the consular rank to which they had been appointed.

But now we must proceed, as I have said, to the subject of the buildings of this Emperor, so that it may not come to pass in the future that those who see them refuse, by reason of their great number and magnitude, to believe that they are in truth the works of one man. For already many works of men of former times which are not vouched for by a written record have aroused incredulity because of their surpassing merit. And with good reason the buildings in Byzantium, beyond all the rest, will serve as a foundation for my narrative. For "o'er a work's beginnings," as the old saying has it,⁴ "we needs must set a front that shines afar."

Some men of the common herd, all the rubbish of ("education," the title of Xenophon's book mentioned above) and παιδικά ("child's play").

¹ *Wars*, VII. xxxii.

⁴ Pindar, *Ol.*, VI. 4, translated by Sandys (L.C.L.)

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπαναστάντες
 τὴν Νίκα καλουμένην στάσιν εἰργάσαντο, ἥπερ
 μοι ἀπαρακαλύπτως ἀκριβολογουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς
 21 ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδιήγῃται λόγοις. ἐνδεικνύ-
 μενοι δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα μόνον, ἀλλ'
 οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅτε ἀποφράδες τὰ ὄπλα
 ἀντῆραν, ἐμπρήσαι τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὴν ἐκκλη-
 σίαν ἐτόλμησαν (Σοφίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βυζάντιοι
 τὸν νεῶν ἐπικαιριώτατα τῷ θεῷ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν
 ἀπεργασάμενοι), ἐπεχώρει δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς
 διαπράξασθαι τὸ ἀσέβημα, προειδὼς εἰς ὅσον τι¹
 κάλλος τοῦτο τὸ ἱερὸν μεταστήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν.
 22 ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία ἐξηνθρακωμένη τότε ξύμπασα
 ἔκειτο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τοιαύτην ἀπο-
 τετόρνενται οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ὥστε, εἰ τῶν Χριστια-
 νῶν τις ἐπύθετο πρότερον εἰ βουλομένοις αὐτοῖς
 διολωλέναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἶη καὶ τοιάνδε γενέ-
 σθαι, δείξας τι αὐτοῖς τῶν νῦν φαινομένων ἐκτύπωμα,
 δοκοῦσιν ἂν μοι ὡς συντομώτατα εὐξασθαι πε-
 πονθυῖαν σφίσι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν θεάσασθαι, ὅπως δὴ
 23 αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸ παρὸν μεταβάλοιτο σχῆμα. ὁ μὲν
 οὖν βασιλεὺς ἀφροντιστήσας χρημάτων ἀπάντων
 B 174 ἐς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν σπουδῇ ἴετο, καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας
 24 ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἤγειρεν ἅπαντας. Ἀνθέμιος δὲ
 Τραλλιανός, ἐπὶ σοφία τῇ καλουμένη μηχανικῇ
 λογιώτατος, οὐ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν μόνον ἀπάντων,

¹ τι Haury : ἐς τὸ V, om. A.

¹ I. xxiv.

² "Wisdom"; cf. *Wars*, III. vi. 26.

³ See the plan and section of St. Sophia on pp. 14 and 15.

the city, once rose up against the Emperor Justinian in Byzantium, when they brought about the rising called the Nika Insurrection, which has been described by me in detail and without any concealment in the Books on the Wars.¹ And by way of shewing that it was not against the Emperor alone that they had taken up arms, but no less against God himself, unholy wretches that they were, they had the hardihood to fire the Church of the Christians, which the people of Byzantium call "Sophia,"² an epithet which they have most appropriately invented for God, by which they call His temple; and God permitted them to accomplish this impiety, foreseeing into what an object of beauty this shrine was destined to be transformed. So the whole church at that time lay a charred mass of ruins. But the Emperor Justinian built not long afterwards a church³ so finely shaped,⁴ that if anyone had enquired of the Christians before the burning if it would be their wish that the church should be destroyed and one like this should take its place, shewing them some sort of model of the building we now see, it seems to me that they would have prayed that they might see their church destroyed forthwith, in order that the building might be converted into its present form. At any rate the Emperor, disregarding all questions of expense, eagerly pressed on to begin the work of construction, and began to gather all the artisans from the whole world. And Anthemius of Tralles, the most learned man in the skilled craft which is known as the art of building,⁵ not only of all his contemporaries,

¹ Literally, "roundly turned," as by a lathe, cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 234e.

² On the use in this translation of the terms "building" and "master-builder," see the *Introduction*, p. xiv.

- ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ προγεγενημένων πολλῶ,
τῇ βασιλείῳ ὑπουργεῖ σπουδῇ, τοῖς τεκταινομέ-
νοις τὰ ἔργα ῥυθμίζων, τῶν τε γενησομένων
προδιασκευάζων ἰνδάματα, καὶ μηχανοποιὸς
σὺν αὐτῷ ἕτερος, Ἰσίδωρος ὄνομα, Μιλήσιος γένος,
ἔμφρων τε ἄλλως καὶ πρέπων Ἰουστινιανῷ
25 ὑπουργεῖν βασιλεῖ. ἦν δὲ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο τῆς
τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα τιμῆς, προκαταστησα-
μένου τοὺς ἐς τὰ πραχθισόμενα χρησιμωτά-
26 τους αὐτῷ ἔσομένους. καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως
τὸν νοῦν εἰκότως ἂν τις ἀγασθεῖν τούτου δὴ
ἔνεκα, ὅτι δὴ ἐκ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐς τῶν πραγ-
μάτων τὰ σπουδαιότατα τοὺς καιριωτάτους ἀπο-
λέξασθαι ἔσχε.
- 27 Θέαμα τοίνυν ἡ ἐκκλησία κεκαλλιστευμένον
γεγένηται, τοῖς μὲν ὁρῶσιν ὑπερφυές, τοῖς δὲ
ἀκούουσι παντελῶς ἄπιστον· ἐπῆρται μὲν γὰρ ἐς
ὑψος οὐράνιον ὅσον, καὶ ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκοδομη-
μάτων ἀποσαλεύουσα ἐπινένευκεν ὑπερκειμένη
τῇ ἄλλῃ πόλει, κοσμοῦσα μὲν αὐτήν, ὅτι αὐτῆς
ἔστιν, ὡραῖζομένη δέ, ὅτι αὐτῆς οὔσα καὶ ἐπεμ-
βαίνουσα τοσοῦτον ἀνέχει ὥστε δὴ ἐνθένδε ἡ
28 πόλις ἐκ περιωπῆς ἀποσκοπεῖται. εὖρος δὲ
αὐτῆς καὶ μῆκος οὕτως ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ ἀποτετέορ-
νευται, ὥστε καὶ περιμῆκης καὶ ὅλως εὐρεῖα
οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου εἰρήσεται. κάλλει δὲ ἀμυθῇ τῳ

P 6

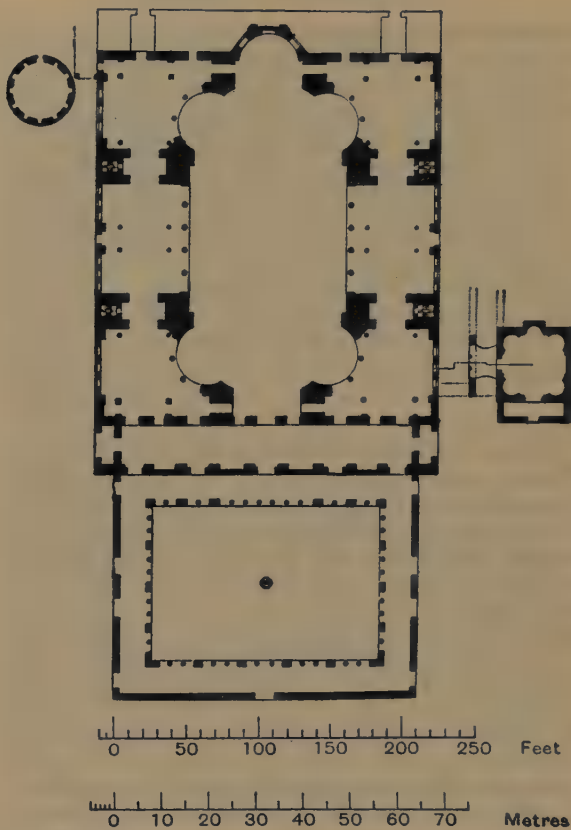
¹ In the *Secret History* (xxi. 7-25) Procopius gives a different account of the way in which Justinian chose his subordinates.

² On Procopius's description see O. Wulff, "Das Raumerlebnis des Naos im Spiegel der Ekphrasis," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, xxx, 1929-30, pp. 531-539. Cf. also K. Kumaniecki,

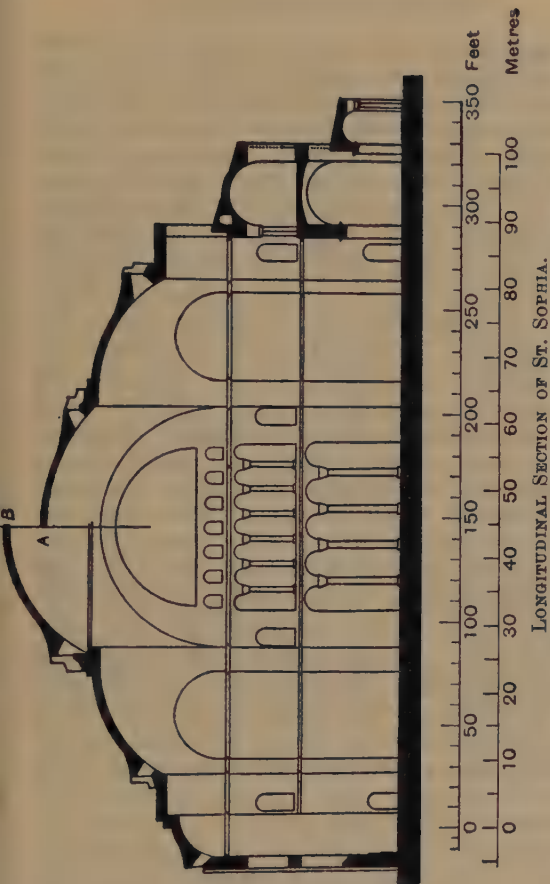
but also when compared with those who had lived long before him, ministered to the Emperor's enthusiasm, duly regulating the tasks of the various artisans, and preparing in advance designs of the future construction; and associated with him was another master-builder, Isidorus by name, a Milesian by birth, a man who was intelligent and worthy to assist the Emperor Justinian. Indeed this also was an indication of the honour in which God held the Emperor, that He had already provided the men who would be most serviceable to him in the tasks which were waiting to be carried out. And one might with good reason marvel at the discernment of the Emperor himself, in that out of the whole world he was able to select the men who were most suitable for the most important of his enterprises.¹

So the church has become a spectacle of marvellous beauty, overwhelming to those who see it, but to those who know it by hearsay altogether incredible.² For it soars to a height to match the sky, and as if surging up from amongst the other buildings it stands on high and looks down upon the remainder of the city, adorning it, because it is a part of it, but glorying in its own beauty, because, though a part of the city and dominating it, it at the same time towers above it to such a height that the whole city is viewed from there as from a watch-tower. Both its breadth and its length have been so carefully proportioned, that it may not improperly be said to be exceedingly long and at the same time unusually broad. And it exults in an indescribable beauty.

"Eine unbekannte Monodie auf den Einsturz der Hagia Sophia im Jahre 558," *ibid.*, pp. 35-43 (especially the note on p. 41).



PLAN OF ST. SOPHIA.



A, the original dome as built by Anthemius and Isidorus.
 B, reconstruction of the dome in A.D. 558 by Isidorus the Younger.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 29 ἀποσεμνύνεται. τῷ τε γὰρ ὄγκῳ κεκόμψεται
καὶ τῇ ἀρμονίᾳ τοῦ μέτρου, οὔτε τι ὑπεράγαν
B 175 οὔτε τι ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ ξυνειθισμένου
κομπωδεστέρα καὶ τοῦ ἀμέτρου κοσμιωτέρα ἐπιει-
κῶς ἐστι, φωτὶ δὲ καὶ ἡλίου μαρμαρυγαῖς ὑπερ-
30 φνῶς πλήθει. φαίης ἂν οὐκ ἔξωθεν καταλάμπεσθαι
ἡλίῳ τὸν χῶρον, ἀλλὰ τὴν αἴγλην ἐν αὐτῷ φύεσθαι,
τοσαύτη τις φωτὸς περιουσία ἐς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ
31 ἱερὸν περικέχυται.¹ καὶ τὸ μὲν τοῦ νεῶ πρόσωπον
(εἶη δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἡλιον, ἵνα δὴ τῷ
θεῷ ἱεουργοῦσι τὰ ἄρρητα) τρόπῳ τοιῷδε δε-
32 δημιούργηται. οἰκοδομία τις ἐκ γῆς ἀνέχει, οὐκ
ἐπ' εὐθείας πεποιημένη, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πλαγίων
ὑπεσταλμένη κατὰ βραχύ, καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέσα
ὑποχωροῦσα, ἐπὶ σχῆμά τε κατὰ ἡμῖς τὸ στρογ-
γύλον ἰοῦσα, ὅπερ οἱ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σοφοὶ
ἡμικύλινδρον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐς ὕψος ἀπότομον
33 ἐπανέστηκεν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ὑπερβολὴ
ἐς σφαίρας τεταρτημόριον ἀποκέκριται, ὑπερθέ-
τε μνηοειδές τι αὐτῇ ἕτερον τοῖς προσεχέσι τῆς
οἰκοδομίας ἐπῆρται, τῇ μὲν εὐπρεπείᾳ θαυμάσιον,
τῷ δὲ σφαλερῷ τῆς συνθέσεως δοκοῦντι εἶναι
34 φοβερὸν ὅλως. δοκεῖ γάρ πη οὐκ ἐν βεβαίῳ
ἐπηωρῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπικινδύνως τοῖς ἐνθάδε οὔσι
μετεωρίζεσθαι. καίτοι διαφερόντως ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ
35 τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐστήρικται. τούτων δὲ δὴ ἐφ'
ἐκάτερα κίονες ἐπ' ἐδάφους εἰσὶν, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ

¹ περικέχυται VL : διακέχυται A.

¹ Procopius regularly describes the plan of an apse or semi-circular niche by saying that it "retreats" or "recedes," though he does not often say, as he does here, that it is semi-circular, or that, in elevation, it forms a half-cylinder. He

For it proudly reveals its mass and the harmony of its proportions, having neither any excess nor deficiency, since it is both more pretentious than the buildings to which we are accustomed, and considerably more noble than those which are merely huge, and it abounds exceedingly in sunlight and in the reflection of the sun's rays from the marble. Indeed one might say that its interior is not illuminated from without by the sun, but that the radiance comes into being within it, such an abundance of light bathes this shrine. And the face itself of the church (which would be the part which faces the rising sun, that portion of the building in which they perform the mysteries in worship of God) was constructed in the following manner. A structure of masonry (*oikodomia*) is built up from the ground, not made in a straight line, but gradually curving inward on its flanks and receding at the middle, so that it forms the shape of half a circle, which those who are skilled in such matters call a half-cylinder (*hēmi-kylindron*); and so it rises precipitously to a height.¹ The upper part of this structure ends in the fourth part of a sphere (*sphaira*), and above it another crescent-shaped (*mēnoeides*) structure rises, fitted to the adjoining parts of the building, marvellous in its grace, but by reason of the seeming insecurity of its composition altogether terrifying. For it seems somehow to float in the air on no firm basis, but to be poised aloft to the peril of those inside it. Yet actually it is braced with exceptional firmness and security. On either side of this are columns arranged on the pavement; these likewise do not

sometimes uses the same locutions to describe the arrangement of columns.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- κατ' εὐθὺ ἐστῶτες, ἀλλ' εἴσω κατὰ σχῆμα τὸ
 ἡμίκυκλον ὥσπερ ἐν χορῶ ἀλλήλοις ὑπεξιστάμενοι,
 καὶ αὐτῶν ὑπεράνωθεν οἰκοδόμημα μηνοειδές
 36 ἀποκρέμαται. τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἐώου κατ' ἀντικρὺ¹
 τὰς εἰσόδους ἔχων ἐγγήγερται τοῖχος, καὶ αὐτοῦ
 ἐκατέρωθεν οἷ τε κίονες καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ὑπερθεν
 ὁμοιότατα τοῖς δεδηλωμένοις ἐν ἡμικύκλῳ ἐστή-
 37 κασι. κατὰ δὲ τὰ τοῦ νεῶ μέσα λόφοι χειρο-
 B 176 ποίητοι ἐπανεστήκασι τέσσαρες, οὓς καλοῦσι
 πεσσούς, δύο μὲν πρὸς βορρᾶν, δύο δὲ πρὸς ἄνεμον
 νότον, ἀντίοι τε καὶ ἴσοι ἀλλήλοις, κίονας ἐν
 μέσῳ ἐκάτεροι κατὰ τέσσαρας μάλιστα ἔχοντες.
 38 πεποίηνται δὲ οἱ λόφοι λίθοις εὐμεγέθεσι σύνθετοι,
 λογάδην μὲν συνειλεγμένοις, ἐς ἀλλήλους² δὲ
 πρὸς τῶν λιθολόγων ἐπισταμένως ἐναρμοσθεῖσιν,³
 ἐς ὕψος μέγα. εἰκάσαις ἂν αὐτοὺς εἶναι σκοπέλους
 39 ὀρῶν ἀποτόμους. ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ ἀψίδες τέσσαρες
 ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ ἀνέχουσι· καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ μὲν
 ἄκρα ξύνδυο ξυνιόντα εἰς ἄλληλα ἐν τῇ ὑπερβολῇ
 ἡρήρεισται τῶν λόφων τούτων, τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα
 40 ἐπηρμένα εἰς ἀπέραντον ὕψος ἡώρηται. τῶν δὲ
 ἀψίδων αἱ μὲν δύο κατὰ κενοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπανεστή-
 κασι πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά τε καὶ δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον,
 P 7 αἱ δὲ λειπόμεναι οἰκοδομίαν τέ τινα καὶ κίονας

¹ So Hoeschel: τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἐώ οὐ καταντικρὺ V, τοῦ δὲ δὴ νεῶ οὐκ ἀντικρὺ L.

² ἐς ἀλλήλους A: ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις VL, ἐς ἀλλήλους corrector of V in margin.

³ ἐναρμοσθεῖσιν VL: ἐναρμοσθέντες A.

¹ It seems clear from the context that Procopius here uses *μάλιστα* in the sense of "just," either in order to indicate

BUILDINGS I. i. 35-40

stand in a straight line, but they retreat inward in the pattern of the semicircle (*hēmikyklon*) as if they were yielding to one another in a choral dance, and above them hangs a structure of crescent shape (*mēnoeides*). And on the side opposite the east is reared a wall containing the entrances (*eisodoi*), and on either side of this there stand in a semicircle (*hēmikyklon*) not only the columns themselves but also the structure above them, all this being very similar to the columns and structure I have just described. And in the centre of the church stand four man-made eminences (*lophoi*), which they call piers (*pessoi*), two on the north side and two on the south, opposite and equal to each other, each pair having between them just four columns.¹ The piers (*lophoi*) are composed of huge stones joined together, carefully selected and skillfully fitted to one another by the masons, and rising to a great height. One might suppose that they were sheer mountain-peaks. From these spring four arches (*apsides*) which rise over the four sides of a square, and their ends come together in pairs and are made fast to each other on top of these piers (*lophoi*), while the other portions rise and soar to an infinite height. And while two of the arches rise over empty air, those namely on the east and the west sides, the other two have under them certain structural elements (*oikodomia*), including

that he is giving the number exactly, or in order to give it as his impression that the number four is a rather small one in relation to the large size of the building. He uses *μάλιστα* in this sense elsewhere in the *Buildings*: it certainly means "just" in I. vi. 9 and II. ii. 3, and may have this meaning also in I. vii. 1, II. viii. 14 and IV. x.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 41 μικροὺς ¹ κομιδῇ ἔνερθεν ἔχουσιν. ὑπερθεν δὲ
αὐτῶν κυκλοτερῆς οἰκοδομία ἐν στρογγύλῳ ἐπ-
ῆρται· ὅθεν αἰεὶ διαγελαῖα πρῶτον ἢ ἡμέρα.
- 42 ὑπεραίρει γάρ, οἶμαι, τὴν γῆν ξύμπασαν, καὶ
διαλείπει τὸ οἰκοδόμημα κατὰ βραχύ, ἐξεπίτηδες
παρειμένον τοσοῦτον, ὅσον τοὺς χώρους, οὗ δὴ
τὸ διηρημένον τῆς οἰκοδομίας συμβαίνει εἶναι,
- 43 φέγγους διαρκῶς ἀγωγούς εἶναι. τῶν δὲ ἀψίδων
τῆς συμπλοκῆς ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐξειργασμένης,
ἐς τρίγωνα τέσσαρα μεταξὺ τὸ ἔργον ἀποτετέλεσται.
- 44 καὶ ἡ μὲν τριγώνου ἐκάστη ² κρηπὶς πεπιεσμένη
τῇ ἐς ἀλλήλας τῶν ἀψίδων ἐνέρσει ὁξεῖαν ποιεῖται
τὴν κάτω γωνίαν, συναναβαίνουσα δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν
εὐρυνομένη τῇ μεταξὺ χώρα ἐς τὸ κυκλοτερές
τελευτᾷ, ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, γωνίας τε τὰς λειπομένας
- 45 ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται. τούτου δὲ τοῦ κυκλοτεροῦς παμ-
μεγέθους ἐπανεστηκυῖά τις σφαιροειδῆς θόλος
- B 177 46 ποιεῖται αὐτὸ διαφερόντως εὐπρόσωπον. δοκεῖ δὲ
οὐκ ἐπὶ στερρᾷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐστάναι, ἀλλὰ
τῇ σφαίρᾳ ³ τῇ χρυσῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐξημμένη
- 47 καλύπτειν τὸν χώρον. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐς ἀλληλά
τε παρὰ δόξαν ἐν μεταρσίῳ ἐναρμοσθέντα, ἕκ τε
ἀλλήλων ἠωρημένα καὶ μόνοις ἐναπερειδόμενα τοῖς
ἄγχιστα οὖσι, μίαν μὲν ἀρμονίαν ἐκπρεπεστάτην
τοῦ ἔργου ποιοῦνται, οὐ παρέχονται δὲ τοῖς
θεωμένοις αὐτῶν τινι ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν ἐπὶ πολὺ τὴν
ὄψιν, ἀλλὰ μεθέλκει τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν ἕκαστον, καὶ
- 48 μεταβιβάζει ῥᾶστα ἐφ' ἑαυτό. ἀγχίστροφός τε

¹ μικροὺς LA : μακροὺς V.

² ἐκάστη VL : ἐκάστου Hoeschel.

³ σφαῖρα Haury : σειρᾷ.

a number of rather small columns. Upon the crowns of the arches rests a circular structure (*kykloterês oikodomia*), cylindrical (*strongylon*) in shape; it is through this that the light of day always first smiles. For it towers above the whole earth, as I believe, and the structure is interrupted at short intervals, openings having been left intentionally, in the spaces where the perforation of the stone-work takes place, to be channels for the admission of light in sufficient measure. And since the arches where they are joined together are so constructed as to form a four-cornered plan, the stonework between the arches produces four triangles (*trigôna*).¹ And while each supporting end (*krêpis*) of a triangle, having been contracted to a point by the coming together of each pair of arches, makes the lower point an acute angle, yet as the triangle rises and its width is extended by the intermediate surface, it ends in the segment of a circle (*kykloterês*) which it supports, and forms the remaining angles² at that level. And upon this circle rests the huge spherical dome (*sphairoeidês tholos*) which makes the structure exceptionally beautiful. Yet it seems not to rest upon solid masonry, but to cover the space with its golden dome (*sphaira*) suspended from Heaven. All these details, fitted together with incredible skill in mid-air and floating off from each other and resting only on the parts next to them, produce a single and most extraordinary harmony in the work, and yet do not permit the spectator to linger much over the study of any one of them, but each detail attracts the eye and draws it on irresistibly to itself. So the vision

¹ Pendentives.

² The two upper angles of each spherical triangle.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἡ τῆς θεάς μεταβολὴ ἐς αἰὲ γίγνεται, ἀπολέξασθαι τοῦ ἐσορῶντος οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντος ὃ τι ἂν ποτε
 49 ἀγασθείη μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ὡς ἀποσκοποῦντες ¹ πανταχόσε τὸν νοῦν, τὰς τε
 ὀφρῦς ἐπὶ πᾶσι συννενευκότες, οὐχ οἰοί τέ εἰσι
 ξυνεῖναι τῆς τέχνης, ἀλλ' ἀπαλλάσσονται αἰὲ
 ἐνθένδε καταπεπληγμένοι τῇ ἐς τὴν ὄψιν ἀμηχανία.
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδέ πη ἔχει.

50 Μηχαναῖς δὲ πολλαῖς βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ Ἀνθέμιος ὁ μηχανοποιὸς σὺν τῷ Ἰσιδώρῳ
 οὕτω δὴ μετεωρίζομένην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῷ
 ἀσφαλεῖ διεπράξαντο εἶναι. ὥνπερ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας
 ἀπάσας ἐμοὶ εἰδέναι τε ἄπορον καὶ λόγῳ φράσαι
 ἀμήχανον, μία δέ μοι μόνον ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι
 γεγράφεται ἢ δύναιτ' ² ἂν τις σύμπασαν τοῦ

51 ἔργου τεκμηριῶσαι τὴν δύναμιν. ἔχει γὰρ ὧδε·
 οἱ λόφοι, ὥνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, οὐ κατὰ
 ταῦτὰ ταῖς ἄλλαις οἰκοδομίαις πεποίηται, ἀλλὰ
 τρώπῳ τοιῷδε. λίθων ἐπιβολὴ ἐν τετραγώνῳ
 B 178 52 διαπεπόνηται, σκληρῶν μὲν φύσιν, ἐργασίαν δὲ
 λείων, ἐντομὴν ³ δέ, εἰ μὲν τὰ προὔχοντα ποιεῖσθαι
 τῶν τοῦ λόφου πλευρῶν μέλλοιεν, ἐγγωνίων,
 εἰ δὲ τὴν μεταξὺ κεκλήρωνται χώραν, ἐν τετρα-
 53 πλευρῳ γεγενημένων. συνήρמוσε δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐ
 τίτανος, ἣνπερ ἄσβεστον ὀνομάζουσιν, οὐκ ἄσφαλ-
 τος, ἡ Σεμιράμιδος ἐν Βαβυλῶνι φιλοτιμία, οὐκ

¹ ἀποσκοποῦντες: Haury proposes ἀποστρέφοντες.

² δύναιτ' Dindorf: δύναται VL. ³ ἐντομὴν V: ἐκτομὴν L.

¹ In describing the great piers, which are actually quite irregular in plan, Procopius uses the word "four-cornered" to convey a general impression of their somewhat rectangular appearance as they rise above the spectator.

constantly shifts suddenly, for the beholder is utterly unable to select which particular detail he should admire more than all the others. But even so, though they turn their attention to every side and look with contracted brows upon every detail, observers are still unable to understand the skilful craftsmanship, but they always depart from there overwhelmed by the bewildering sight. So much, then, for this.

It was by many skilful devices that the Emperor Justinian and the master-builder Anthemius and Isidorus secured the stability of the church, hanging, as it does, in mid-air. Some of these it is both hopeless for me to understand in their entirety, and impossible to explain in words; I shall record only one of them for the present, from which it should be possible to gain an impression of the strength of the whole work. It is as follows: The piers (*lophoi*) which I have just mentioned are not constructed in the same way as other structures, but in the following manner. The courses of stone were laid down so as to form a four-cornered shape, the stones being rough by nature but worked smooth; and they were cut to the angles when they were destined to form the projecting corners of the sides of the pier, but when they chanced to be assigned to a position between the angles, they were cut in rectangles (*tetrapleuron*).¹ These were held together neither by lime (*titanos*), which they call "asbestus",² nor by asphalt, the material which was the pride of Semiramis in Babylon,³ nor by any other such thing,

¹ Because lime "cannot be quenched" by water; cf. *Wars*, VI. xxvii. 21.

² Cf. Diodorus, II. 12. Babylon was famous for its asphalt (Strabo, XVI. 743; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXV. 178).

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

P 8

ἄλλο τοιοῦτον οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ μόλιβδος ἐς τέλμα
 χυθείς, καὶ μεταξὺ πανταχόσε χωρήσας, τῶν τε
 λίθων τῇ ἁρμονίᾳ ἐντετηκῶς καὶ συνδέων ἀλλήλοις
 54 αὐτούς. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται. ἐπὶ
 τὰ λειπόμενα δὲ τοῦ νεῶ ἴωμεν.

Χρυσῷ μὲν ἀκιβδῆλῳ καταλήλειπται ἡ ὀροφὴ
 πᾶσα, κεραννύσα τὸν κόμπον ¹ τῷ κάλλει, νικᾷ
 μέντοι ἡ ἐκ τῶν λίθων αὐγὴ ἀνταστράπτουσα
 55 τῷ χρυσῷ. στοαὶ τέ εἰσιν ἐκατέρωθι δύο,
 οἰκοδομία μὲν τοῦ νεῶ οὐδεμιᾷ διειργόμεναι,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζον αὐτοῦ ποιούσαι τοῦ εὗρους τὸ
 μέτρον, καὶ τῷ μήκει μέχρι ἐς τὸ πέρασ συνεξ-
 56 ικνούμεναι, τὸ δέ γε ὕψος καταδεέστεραι. καὶ
 αὐταῖς δὲ ἡ τε ὀροφὴ θόλος καὶ ὁ χρυσὸς ἐγκαλ-
 λώπισμα. ταύταιν δὲ ² ταῖν στοαῖν ἀτέρα μὲν
 τοὺς ἄνδρας εὐχομένους διακεκλήρωται, γυναιξὶ
 57 δὲ ταὐτὸ ποιουμέναις ἡ ἄλλη ἀνεῖται. παραλ-
 λάξ δὲ οὐδέν ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ διαφέρουσι δήπου
 ἀλλήλαιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἴσον αὐταῖν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐς

¹ κόμπον LA: κόσμον V.

² αὐταῖς δὲ VL: ταύταις A.

¹ Procopius evidently misunderstood what he had been told about the way in which the lead was employed, for it can scarcely have been poured into the joints in the manner which he describes. Paul the Silentary, in his *Description of Saint Sophia*, says that sheets of lead were used in the piers (P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 240, lines 476-480):

ἁρμονίαις δ' ἐνέηκε πλάκας μαλακοῖο μολύβδου,
 ὅφρα κε μὴ λάιγγες ἐπ' ἀλλήλησι δεθεῖσαι
 καὶ στυφελὰ στυφελοῖσιν ἐπ' ἄχθεσιν ἄχθεα θεῖσαι
 νῶτα διαθρύψωσι· μεσοδμήτῳ δὲ μολύβδῳ
 ἡρέμα πιληθεῖσα βάσις μαλθάσσετο πέτρου,

but by lead (*molibdos*) poured into the interstices (*telma*), which flowed about everywhere in the spaces between the stones and hardened in the joints (*harmonia*), binding them to each other.¹ Thus were these parts constructed; but let us proceed to the remaining portions of the church.

The whole ceiling is overlaid with pure gold, which adds glory to the beauty, yet the light reflected from the stones prevails, shining out in rivalry with the gold. And there are two stoa-like colonnades (*stoai*),² one on each side, not separated in any way from the structure of the church itself, but actually making the effect of its width greater,³ and reaching along its whole length, to the very end, while in height they are less than the interior of the building. And they too have vaulted ceilings (*orophê tholos*) and decorations of gold. One of these two colonnaded stoas has been assigned to men worshippers, while the other is reserved for women engaged in the same exercise. But they have nothing to distinguish them, nor do they differ from one another in any way, but their very equality serves to beautify the church, and

"In the joints they have put sheets of soft lead, lest the stones, as they lie on one another, and heavy weight bears upon heavy weight, should have their backs broken; with the lead between, the stone foundation is pressed softly and is gently burdened." Cf. Lethaby and Swainson, *Sancta Sophia*, p. 259.

² The procedure followed in rendering Greek *stoa* in this translation is explained in the Introduction, p. xvi.

³ Literally, Procopius says "the *measure* of its width." He seems to have been aware that the colonnades of the aisles and galleries, which he describes as stoas, increased the scale of the interior by making the great width of the nave seem more measurable and impressive in relation to the apparent size of the side aisles.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

B 179

- 58 κάλλος διήκει καὶ ὠραῖζει τὸ ἐμφερές. τίς
 δ' ἂν τῶν ὑπερώων τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐρμηνεὺς
 γένοιτο, ἢ τὰς τε παμπληθεῖς διηγοῖτο στοὰς καὶ
 τὰς περιστύλους αὐλάς, αἷς ὁ νεὺς περιβέβλη-
 59 ται; τίς δὲ τῶν τε κιόνων καὶ λίθων διαριθμή-
 σαιτο τὴν εὐπρέπειαν, οἷς τὸ ἱερὸν κεκαλλώ-
 πισται; λειμῶνί τις ἂν ἐντετυχηκέναι δόξειεν
 60 ὠραίῳ τὸ ἄνθος. θαυμάσειε γὰρ ἂν εἰκότως
 τῶν μὲν τὸ ἀλουργόν, τῶν δὲ τὸ χλοάζον, καὶ
 οἷς τὸ φοινικοῦν ἐπανθεῖ καὶ ὦν τὸ λευκὸν ἀπ-
 αστράπτει, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ οὖς ταῖς ἐναντιωτάταις
 ποικίλλει χροιαῖς ὥσπερ τις ζωγράφος ἢ φύσις.
 61 ὅπηνίκα δὲ τις εὐξόμενος ἐς αὐτὸ ἴοι, ξυνήσι μὲν
 εὐθὺς ὡς οὐκ ἀνθρωπεῖα δυνάμει ἢ τέχνῃ, ἀλλὰ
 θεοῦ ῥοπῇ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἀποτετόρνευται· ὁ
 νοῦς δὲ οἱ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐπαιρόμενος ἀεροβατεῖ,
 οὐ μακράν που ἡγούμενος αὐτὸν εἶναι, ἀλλ'
 62 ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν μάλιστα οἷς αὐτὸς εἶλετο. καὶ
 τοῦτο οὐ τὴν πρώτην μόνον ἰδόντι ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ
 διηνεκὲς ἐκάστω ταῦτο τοῦτο δοκεῖ, ὥσπερ
 63 ἐνταῦθα τῆς ὄψεως αἰεὶ ἀρχομένης. τούτου κόρον
 οὐδεὶς τοῦ θεάματος ἔλαβε πώποτε, ἀλλὰ παρόν-
 τες μὲν ¹ τῷ ἱερῷ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ὀρωμένοις γεγῆ-
 θασιν, ἀπιόντες δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ διαλόγοις
 64 ἀποσεμνύνονται. ἔτι μέντοι ² τῶν κειμηλίων τοῦ
 νεῷ τοῦδε τὰ τε χρυσώματα καὶ τὰ ἐν ἀργύρῳ καὶ
 λίθοις ἐντίμοις ξύμπαντα μὲν φράσαι ἀκριβο-
 λογουμένῳ ἀμήχανον ἄπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασι-
 λεὺς τῇδε ἀνέθηκεν· ἐνὶ δὲ μόνῳ τεκμηριουῖσθαι
 65 τοῖς τάδε ἀναλεγομένοις ἐφήμι· ὁ γὰρ τοῦ

¹ μὲν: μὲν ἐν Wahler.

² μέντοι VL: μὴν A.

their similarity to adorn it. But who could fittingly describe the galleries (*hyperôa*) of the women's side (*gynaikonitis*), or enumerate the many colonnades and the colonnaded aisles (*peristylai aulai*) by means of which the church is surrounded? Or who could recount the beauty of the columns (*kiones*) and the stones with which the church is adorned? One might imagine that he had come upon a meadow with its flowers in full bloom. For he would surely marvel at the purple of some, the green tint of others, and at those on which the crimson glows and those from which the white flashes, and again at those which Nature, like some painter, varies with the most contrasting colours. And whenever anyone enters this church to pray, he understands at once that it is not by any human power or skill, but by the influence of God, that this work has been so finely turned. And so his mind is lifted up toward God and exalted, feeling that He cannot be far away, but must especially love to dwell in this place which He has chosen. And this does not happen only to one who sees the church for the first time, but the same experience comes to him on each successive occasion, as though the sight were new each time. Of this spectacle no one has ever had a surfeit, but when present in the church men rejoice in what they see, and when they leave it they take proud delight in conversing about it. Furthermore, concerning the treasures of this church—the vessels of gold and silver and the works in precious stones, which the Emperor Justinian has dedicated here—it is impossible to give a precise account of them all. But I shall allow my readers to form a judgment by a single example. That part of the shrine which is

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ἱεροῦ τὰ μάλιστα χῶρος ἀβέβηλος καὶ μόνοις
ἱερεῦσι βατός, ὃνπερ καλοῦσι θυσιαστήριον, λι-
τρῶν ἀργύρου μυριάδας ἐπιφέρεται τέτταρας.

66 Τὰ μὲν οὖν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐκκλη-
σίας, ἣνπερ μεγάλην καλεῖν νενομίκασι, συνελόντι
τε καὶ ἄκρῳ δακτύλῳ διαριθμησαμένῳ εἰπεῖν,
λόγῳ τε βραχυτάτῳ τὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀξιο-
λογώτατα φράσαι, τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ δεδημι-

P 9 67 οὐργηται βασιλεῖ. οὐ χρήμασι δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ βασι-
B 180 λεὺς ἐδείματο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πονουμένη τῇ
διανοίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ, ὥσπερ

68 ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω. τῶν ἀψίδων, ὧνπερ ἐπ-
εμνήσθην ἀρτίως (λώρους δὲ αὐτὰς οἱ μηχανο-
ποιοὶ ἐπικαλοῦσι) μία τις, ἥ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα
ἡλίον ἐστίν, ἐπανειστῆκει μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἤδη,
οὐπω δὲ ὅλη κατὰ τὸ μέσον συνετετέλεστο,

69 ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ἔτι. οἱ δὲ πεσσοὶ ὧν δὴ ὕπερθεν ἡ
οἰκοδομία ἐγίνετο, τῶν ἐγκειμένων σφίσιν οὐκ
ἐνεγκόντες τὸ μέγεθος, ἀμηγέπη ἐξαπιναίως
ἀπορρηγνύμενοι, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν διαλυθησομένοις

70 ἐώκεσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφί τε Ἀνθέμιον καὶ
Ἰσίδωρον τοῖς συμπεπτωκόσι περίφοβοι ὄντες
ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγον, δυσέλπιδες ἐπὶ

71 τῇ τέχνῃ γεγενημένοι. αὐτίκα δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς,
ὅτῳ¹ μὲν ποτε ἡγμένος οὐκ οἶδα, θεῷ δέ, οἶμαι,
οὐ γάρ ἐστι μηχανικός, ἐς τὸ πέρασ αὐτοῖς
περιελίξαι τὴν ἀψίδα ταύτην ἐπήγγελλεν. αὐτὴ
γάρ, ἔφη, ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς ἀνεχομένη τῶν ἔνερθεν

especially sacred, where only priests may enter, which they call the Inner Sanctuary (*thysiastêrion*), is embellished with forty thousand pounds' weight of silver.

So the church of Constantinople (which men are accustomed to call the Great Church), speaking concisely and merely running over the details with the finger-tips, as it were, and mentioning with a fleeting word only the most notable features, was constructed in such a manner by the Emperor Justinian. But it was not with money alone that the Emperor built it, but also with labour of the mind and with the other powers of the soul, as I shall straightway shew. One of the arches which I just now mentioned (*lôri*¹ the master-builders call them), the one which stands toward the east, had already been built up from either side, but it had not yet been wholly completed in the middle, and was still waiting. And the piers (*pessoî*), above which the structure was being built, unable to carry the mass which bore down upon them, somehow or other suddenly began to crack, and they seemed on the point of collapsing. So Anthemius and Isidorus, terrified at what had happened, carried the matter to the Emperor, having come to have no hope in their technical skill. And straightway the Emperor, impelled by I know not what, but I suppose by God (for he is not himself a master-builder), commanded them to carry the curve of this arch to its final completion. "For when it rests upon itself," he said, "it will no longer need

¹ Greek *lôpos*, from Latin *lorus*, meaning a "thong" or "leash," and, in the plural, "reins."

¹ ὁτῶ . . . μηχανικός VL: θέοθεν ἡγμένος A.

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- 72 πεσσῶν οὐκέτι δεήσει. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ λόγος ἀμάρτυρος ἦν, εὖ οἶδα ὅτι κόλαξ τε ἂν ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἄπιστος ὅλως, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ μάρτυρες πάρεισι τῶν τηνικάδε πεπραγμένων πολλοί, οὐκ ὀκνητέα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ λόγου λειπόμενά ἐστιν.
- 73 οἱ μὲν οὖν τεχνῖται τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα ἐποιοῦν, ἡ δὲ ἀψὶς ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἡώρητο πᾶσα, ἐπισφραγί-
- 74 ζουσα τῇ πείρᾳ τὴν τῆς ἐννοίας ἀλήθειαν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἄλλας ἀψίδας αἷ τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, τοιόνδε ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.
- 75 οἱ μὲν λῶροι καλούμενοι τοῦ νεῶ τῇ οἰκοδομίᾳ ἐξωγκωμένοι ἡώρηντο, βαρυνόμενα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπεπονήκει τὰ ἔνερθεν πάντα, κίονές τε οἱ τῇδε ὄντες χάλικας σμικρὰς ὥσπερ ἀποξυσθέντες
- 76 ἀφίεσαν. καὶ αὖθις μὲν ἄθυμοι τοῖς συμπεπτωκόσιν οἱ μηχανικοὶ γεγενημένοι τῷ βασιλεῖ
- B 181 77 τὰ σφίσι παρόντα ἐσήγγελλον. αὖθις δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀντεπετεχνήσατο¹ τάδε. τούτων δὴ τῶν πεπονηκότων τὰ ἄκρα, ὅσα τῶν ἀψίδων ἐπέψανε, διελεῖν μὲν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἐκέλευσεν, ἐντιθέναι δὲ πολλῷ ὕστερον, ἐπειδὰν τὸ τῆς οἰκοδομίας
- 78 ὑγρὸν ἀπολωφήσειεν αὐτοῖς μάλιστα.² καὶ οἱ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποιοῦν· ἡ δὲ κτίσις διαγέγονε τὸ

¹ ἀντεπετεχνήσατο A: ἀντετεχνήσατο VL.

² μάλιστα VL: om. A.

the props (*pessoî*) beneath it."¹ And if this story were without witness, I am well aware that it would have seemed a piece of flattery and altogether incredible; but since there are available many witnesses of what then took place, we need not hesitate to proceed to the remainder of the story. So the artisans carried out his instructions, and the whole arch then hung secure, sealing by experiment the truth of his idea. Thus, then, was this arch completed; but in the process of building the other arches, indeed, those namely which are turned toward the south and the north, the following chanced to take place. The so-called *lôri* had been raised up, carrying the masonry of the church, but everything underneath was labouring under their load, making the columns (*kiones*) which stood there throw off tiny flakes, as if they had been planed. So once more the master-builders were dismayed at what had happened and reported their problem to the Emperor. And again the Emperor met the situation with a remedy, as follows. He ordered them immediately to remove the upper parts (*akra*) of the masonry which were strained, that is, the portions which came into contact with the arches, and to put them back much later, as soon as the dampness of the masonry should abate enough to bear them. These instructions they carried out, and thereafter the structure stood

¹ This passage is at first sight ambiguous because Procopius is using *pessoî* in two quite different senses. Obviously the statement that once the arch was completed it would no longer need the *pessoî* beneath it cannot refer to the main masonry piers (which Procopius has just called *pessoî*), but must refer to the scaffolding or centering (*pessoî*) which was holding up the great arch before its completion.

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λοιπὸν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ οὔσα. φέρεται¹ δέ τι καὶ μαρτύριον ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ ἔργου τοιόνδε.

β'. Ἀγορά τις πρὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα· καλοῦσι δὲ Αὐγουσταῖον τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ Βυζάντιοι. ἐνταῦθα ξυνθῆκαι λίθων οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ ἑπτὰ ἐν τετραγώνῳ πεποιήνται, κατὰ μὲν ἀπόβασιν ξυγκείμεναι πᾶσαι, τοσοῦτον δὲ ἐκάστη τῆς ἔνερθεν οὔσης ἐλασσουμένη καὶ ἀποδέουσα, ὥστε δὴ τῶν λίθων ἕκαστον τῇ ἐμβολῇ προὔχοντα βαθμὸν γεγονέναι τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐκείνη ἀγειρομένους ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ βάθρων

2 καθῆσθαι. ἐν δὲ τῇ τῶν λίθων ὑπερβολῇ κίων ἐπανέστηκεν ἑξαίσιον ὅσον, οὐ μονοειδῆς μέντοι, ἀλλὰ λίθοις ἐν περιδρόμῳ εὐμεγέθεσι σύνθετος, ἐγγωνίοις μὲν τῇ ἐντομῇ οὔσιν, ἐς δὲ ἀλλήλους

3 ἐμπειρία τῶν λιθοδόμων ἐναρμοσθεῖσι. χαλκὸς δὲ ἄριστος ἐν τε πίναξιν καὶ στεφάνοις διαχυθεὶς περιβάλλει πανταχόθι τοὺς λίθους, ἐν μὲν τῷ βεβαίῳ συνδέων, ἐν κόσμῳ δὲ αὐτοὺς συγκαλύπτων, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα σχεδὸν τι πάντα καὶ διαφερόντως τά τε ἄνω καὶ τὰ κάτω ἐς τοῦ κίονος τὸν

4 τύπον ἀπομιμούμενος. ὁ δὲ χαλκὸς οὗτος τὸ μὲν χρῶμά ἐστι χρυσοῦ ἀκιβδήλου πραότερος, τὴν δὲ ἀξίαν οὐ παρὰ πολὺ ἀποδέων ἰσοστάσιος

B 182 5 ἀργύρῳ εἶναι. ἐν δὲ τοῦ κίονος τῇ κορυφῇ

¹ φέρεται . . . ὑπερβολῇ: ἐν δὲ τῷ καλουμένῳ αὐγουσταίῳ A.

¹ Procopius's account is not entirely clear, either because he did not understand what had happened, or because he was unable to describe the processes in technical language, or possibly because he wished to avoid a complicated technical description. His account suggests that the builders constructing the north and south arches used the walls and galleries

secure.¹ And the Emperor, in this way, enjoys a kind of testimonial from the work.

ii. Before the Senate House there happened to be a sort of market-place, which the people of Byzantium call the Augustaeum. In that place there is a structure of stones, which is made up of not less than seven courses, laid in a rectangle, all fitted to each other at their ends, but each course being narrower than that beneath, and set back, with the result that each of the stones becomes, from the way it is set, a projecting step, so that people assembled there sit upon them as upon seats. And at the top of the stones there rises a column of extraordinary size, not a monolith, however, but composed of large stones in circular courses, cut so as to form angles on their inner faces, and fitted to one another by the skill of the masons. And finest brass, cast in panels and garlands, covers the stones on every side, both serving to bind them securely, and covering them with adornment, and giving the shaft throughout, but particularly at the base and the capital, the appearance of a column. This brass, in its colour, is softer than pure gold, and its value is not much less than that of an equal weight of silver. And on the

at the sides as permanent centering for the great arches, with the result that the weight of these arches, before their keystones were in place, was too much for the thin clerestory walls and columns beneath, which were not designed to carry so much weight and would not have to do so after the arches were completed. It is even possible, from Procopius's description, that the builders were building up the spandrels of masonry above the haunches of the arches before they had completed their curve. Therefore, when Justinian ordered them to take out the strained portions and replace them later, he made it necessary for the builders to complete the arches before filling in the clerestory wall.

- χαλκοῦς ἔστηκεν ὑπερμεγέθης ἵππος, τετραμμένος
 πρὸς ἔω, θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ἔοικε δὲ
 βαδιουμένῳ καὶ τοῦ πρόσω λαμπρῶς ἐχομένῳ.
 6 ποδῶν τῶν προσθίων ἀμέλει τὸν μὲν ἀριστερόν
 μετεωρίζει, ὡς ἐπιβησόμενον τῆς ἐπίπροσθεν γῆς,
 ὃ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου ἡρήρεται οὐ
 ὑπερθέν ἐστιν, ὡς τὴν βάσιν ἐκδεξόμενος· τοὺς
 δὲ ὀπισθίους οὕτω ξυνάγει ὡς, ἐπειδὰν τὸ μὴ
 ἐστήξῃεν αὐτοῖς ¹ ἐπιβάλλοι, ἐν ἐτοίμῳ εἶεν.
 7 τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἵππῳ χαλκῇ ἐπιβέβηκε τοῦ βασιλέως
 εἰκὼν κολοσσῶ ἐμφερής. ἔσταλται δὲ Ἀχιλ-
 8 λεὺς ἢ εἰκὼν· οὕτω γὰρ τὸ σχῆμα καλοῦσιν
 ὅπερ ἀμπέχεται. τὰς τε γὰρ ἀρβύλας ὑποδέδε-
 9 ται καὶ τὰ σφυρά ἐστι κνημίδων χωρίς. εἴτα
 ἡρωϊκῶς τεθωράκισται καὶ κράνος αὐτῷ τὴν
 κεφαλὴν σκέπει δόξαν ὡς κατασεῖοιτο παρεχό-
 μενον, αἶγλη τέ τις ἐνθένδε αὐτοῦ ἀπαστράπτει.
 10 φαίη τις ἂν ποιητικῶς εἶναι τὸν ὀπωρινὸν ἐκείνον
 ἀστέρα. βλέπει δὲ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν
 ἥλιον, τὴν ἡνιόχῃσιν ἐπὶ Πέρσας, οἶμαι, ποιού-
 11 μενος. καὶ φέρει μὲν χειρὶ τῇ λαιᾷ πόλον, παρα-
 δηλῶν ὅτι πλάστης ὅτι γῇ τε αὐτῷ καὶ θάλασσα
 δεδούλωται πᾶσα, ἔχει δὲ οὔτε ξίφος οὔτε δορά-
 τιον οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν ὄπλων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ σταυρὸς
 αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ πόλου ἐπικείται, δι' οὗ δὴ μόνου τὴν
 τε βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πεπόρισται
 12 κράτος. προτεινόμενος δὲ ² χεῖρα τὴν δεξιὰν
 εἰς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον καὶ τοὺς δακτύλους

¹ αὐτοῖς VL: om. A.

² δὲ A: δὲ τὴν VL.

¹ This statue is illustrated in the Frontispiece; see Appendix (pp. 395 ff.), where its significance is discussed. See also the

summit of the column stands a gigantic bronze horse, facing toward the east, a very noteworthy sight.¹ He seems about to advance, and to be splendidly pressing forward. Indeed he holds his left fore foot in the air, as though it were about to take a forward step on the ground before him, while the other is pressed down upon the stone on which he stands, as if ready to take the next step; his hind feet he holds close together, so that they may be ready whenever he decides to move. Upon this horse is mounted a colossal bronze figure of the Emperor. And the figure is habited like Achilles, that is, the costume he wears is known by that name. He wears half-boots and his legs are not covered by greaves. Also he wears a breastplate in the heroic fashion, and a helmet covers his head and gives the impression that it moves up and down,² and a dazzling light flashes forth from it. One might say, in poetic speech, that here is that star of Autumn.³ And he looks toward the rising sun, directing his course, I suppose, against the Persians. And in his left hand he holds a globe, by which the sculptor signifies that the whole earth and sea are subject to him, yet he has neither sword nor spear nor any other weapon, but a cross stands upon the globe which he carries, the emblem by which alone he has obtained both his Empire and his victory in war.⁴ And stretching forth his right hand toward the rising sun and spreading out his fingers, he

analysis of Procopius's description by P. Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentarius*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 64-65.

² As if the horse were in motion.

³ Sirius.

⁴ The emblem of the Christian warrior : ἐν τούτῳ νίκα.

διαπετάσας ἐγκελεύεται τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις
καθῆσθαι οἴκοι καὶ μὴ πρόσω ἵεναι. ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν ὧδέ πη ἔχει.

- 13 Ἐκκλησία δὲ τῇ μεγάλῃ ὁμορον οὖσαν καὶ
συγκαταφλεχθεῖσαν αὐτῇ πρότερον τὴν τῆς Εἰρή-
νης ἐπώνυμον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὑπερμεγέθη
ἐδείματο, ἱερῶν τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ σχεδὸν τι
ἀπάντων, μετὰ γε τῆς Σοφίας τὸν νεῶν, οὐδενὸς¹
14 δεύτερον. ἦν δέ τις μεταξὺ ταύταιν δὴ ταῖν
ἐκκλησίαιν ξενῶν, ἀνθρώποις ἀνειμένος ἀπορου-
μένοις τε καὶ νοσοῦσι τὰ ἔσχατα, εἰ πρὸς τῇ
15 οὐσία καὶ τὸ σῶμα νοσοῖεν. τοῦτον ἀνὴρ τις
θεοσεβῆς ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδείματο, Σαμψὼν
ὄνομα. ἔμεινε δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς² τοῖς στασιώταις ἀνέπα-
φος, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησία ἐκατέρα συγκαταφλεχθεῖς
16 ἀπολώλει. Ἰουστινιανὸς³ δὲ αὐτὸν ἀνωκοδομή-
σατο βασιλεὺς, κάλλει μὲν κατασκευῆς ἀξιώ-
τερον, πλήθει δὲ οἰκιδίων παρὰ πολὺ μείζω·
προσόδῳ τε αὐτὸν ἐπετείων δεδωρῆται χρημάτων
μεγάλων, ὅπως δὴ πλείοσιν ἐς αἰὶ ταλαιπωρου-
17 μένοις ἀνθρώποις ἰῶτο τὰ πάθη. κόρον δὲ τῆς
εἰς τὸν θεὸν τιμῆς ἢ πλησμονὴν τινα ὡς ἤκιστα
ἔχων, δύο ξενῶνας ἐτέρους ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ
ἔθετο ἐν ταῖς Ἰσιδώρου τε καὶ Ἀρκαδίου καλου-
μέναις οἰκίαις, τῆς βασιλίδος Θεοδώρας αὐτῷ
τοῦτο δὴ τῶν ἔργων ξυνεπιλαμβανομένης τὸ
18 ἱερώτατον. τὰ δὲ δὴ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ζύμπαντα, ὅσα
τῷ Χριστῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνέθηκε, τοσαῦτα
τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοιαῦτα τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν, ὥστε
λεπτολογεῖσθαι μὲν ἀμφ' αὐτοῖς ἀμήχανα εἶναι.
19 οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ ὁ λόγος οὐδὲ ὁ πᾶς ἡμῖν αἰὼν

¹ οὐδενὸς A: om. V.

² αὐτὸς A: οὗτος V.

commands the barbarians in that quarter to remain at home and to advance no further. So much, then, for this statue.

The church called after Eirenê, which was next to the Great Church and had been burned down together with it, the Emperor Justinian rebuilt on a large scale, so that it was scarcely second to any of the churches in Byzantium, save that of Sophia. And between these two churches there was a certain hospice, devoted to those who were at once destitute and suffering from serious illness, those who were, namely, suffering in loss of both property and health. This was erected in early times by a certain pious man, Samson by name. And neither did this remain untouched by the rioters, but it caught fire together with the churches on either side of it and was destroyed. The Emperor Justinian rebuilt it, making it a nobler building in the beauty of its structure, and much larger in the number of its rooms. He has also endowed it with a generous annual income of money, to the end that through all time the ill of more sufferers may be cured. But by no means feeling either a surfeit or any sort of weariness in shewing honour to God, he established two other hospices opposite to this one in the buildings called respectively the House of Isidorus and the House of Arcadius, the Empress Theodora labouring with him in this most holy undertaking. All the other shrines which this Emperor dedicated to Christ are so numerous and so great in size, that it is impossible to write about them in detail. For neither the power of language, nor the whole span of eternity, would suffice

³ Ἰουστινιανὸς . . . βασιλεὺς V: ἀνωκοδομήσατο δὲ τοῦτον Ἰουλιανός A.

ἐπαρκέσοι κατάλογον πεπονημένοις ἀποστοματίσαι
πρὸς ὄνομα τούτων δὴ ἕκαστον. ἄχρι τοῦδε
εἰπεῖν ¹ ἡμῖν ἀποχρήσει.

γ'. Ἀρκτέον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς θεοτόκου Μαρίας
νεῶν. τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ ἐξεπιστά-
μεθα βουλομένῳ εἶναι, καὶ διαφανῶς εἰσηγεῖται
ὁ ἀληθὴς λόγος ὅτι δὴ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν
B 184 2 αὐτοῦ μητέρα ἰτέον. πολλὰς τοίνυν ἐκκλησίας
Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῇ θεοτόκῃ ἐδείματο
πανταχόθι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς οὕτω δὴ μεγαλο-
πρεπεῖς τε καὶ παμμεγέθεις καὶ χρημάτων
ὄγκῳ ἐξεργασθείσας ὑπερφυεῖ, ὥστε ἦν τις
αὐτῶν μίαν κατὰ μόνας θεῶτο, εἰκάσειεν ἂν
τοῦτο αὐτῷ μόνον εἰργάσθαι τὸ ἔργον καὶ περὶ
τοῦτο ἡσχολημένον ἅπαντα τῆς βασιλείας κατα-
3 τρῖψαι τὸν χρόνον. ἀλλὰ νῦν, ὅπερ εἶπον, τὰ
ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου ἱερά μοι γεγράφεται. τὸν μὲν
οὖν ἓνα τῆς θεοτόκου νεῶν ὠκοδομήσατο πρὸ τοῦ
περιβόλου ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Βλαχέρναις· αὐτῷ
γὰρ λογιστέον καὶ τὰ Ἰουστίνῳ εἰργασμένα τῷ
θείῳ, ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν κατ' ἐξουσίαν
αὐτὸς διωκεῖτο· ἐπιθαλάσσιος δὲ ὁ νεὼς ἐστίν,
ἱερώτατός τε καὶ σεμνὸς ἄγαν, ἐπιμήκης μὲν, κατὰ
λόγον δὲ περιβεβλημένος τῷ μήκει τὸ εὖρος, τὰ
τε ἄνω καὶ τὰ κάτω ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἀνεχόμενος ὅτι
μὴ τμήμασι λίθου Παρίου ἐν κιόνων λόγῳ
4 ἐνταῦθα ἐστῶσι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ νεῶ μέρη
κατ' εὐθὺ ἐστᾶσιν οἱ κίονες, κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα
5 ὑποστέλλονται εἶσω. μάλιστα δὲ ἂν τις ἀγα-
σθείη τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦδε εἶσω γενόμενος τὸ μὲν

¹ εἰπεῖν added by Haury, cf. *Buildings* I. iv. 31, IV. i. 26.

us to make a catalogue and by name descant upon each one of these. It will suffice us to have said thus much.

iii. We must begin with the churches of Mary the Mother of God. For we know that this is the wish of the Emperor himself, and true reason manifestly demands that from God one must proceed to the Mother of God. The Emperor Justinian built many churches to the Mother of God in all parts of the Roman Empire, churches so magnificent and so huge and erected with such a lavish outlay of money, that if one should see one of them by itself, he would suppose that the Emperor had built this work only and had spent the whole time of his reign occupied with this alone. But now, as I said, I must describe the sanctuaries of Byzantium. One of the churches of the Mother of God he built outside the fortifications in a place called Blachernae¹ (for to the Emperor's credit there must also be reckoned the buildings erected by his uncle Justinus, since Justinian administered the government also during his uncle's reign on his own authority). This church is on the sea, a most holy and very stately church, of unusual length and yet of a breadth well proportioned to its length, both its upper and its lower parts being supported by nothing but sections of Parian stone which stand there to serve as columns. And in all the other parts of the church these columns are set in straight lines, except at the centre, where they recede.² Anyone upon entering this church would marvel particularly at the greatness of the mass

¹ This was the outer edge of the city—toward the west—at the point where the land-walls meet the Golden Horn.

² See above, p. 16, note 1.

- P 12 ὑπέρογκον τοῦ σφαλεροῦ χωρὶς τεταγμένον ὁρῶν,
τὸ δὲ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τοῦ ἀπειροκάλου ἐλεύθερον.
- 6 Ἔτερον δὲ ἱερὸν αὐτῇ ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ
Πηγῇ ἀνέθηκεν.¹ ἐνταῦθά ἐστι δάσος κυπαρίσ-
σων ἀμφιλαφές, λειμῶν ἐν ἀπαλαῖς ταῖς ἀρούραις
τεθηλῶς ἄνθεσι, παράδεισος εὐφορῶν τὰ ὠραῖα,
B 185 πηγὴ ἀψοφητὶ βλύζουσα γαληνὸν τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ
7 πότιμον, ἱεροπρεπῇ ἐπιεικῶς πάντα. ταῦτα μὲν
ὁ ἀμφὶ τὸ τέμενος χώρος· αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν νεῶν
οὐδὲ ὀνόμασιν ἐπαξίοις συλλαβεῖν ῥάδιον, οὐδὲ
διανοίᾳ σκιαγραφῆσαι, οὐδὲ διαψιθυρίσαι τῷ
8 λόγῳ. τοσοῦτον δὲ μόνον εἰπεῖν ἀποχρήσει,
ὥς τῶν ἱερῶν κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει ὑπεραίρει
9 τὰ πλείστα. ταῦτα δὲ ἄμφω τὰ ἱερὰ πρὸ
τοῦ τῆς πόλεως πεποίηται τείχους, τὸ μὲν
ἀρχομένου παρὰ τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἡϊόνα, τὸ δὲ
ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Χρυσῶν καλουμένων Πυλῶν,
ἃς δὴ ἀμφὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐρύματος πέρας συμβαίνει
εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ ἄμφω ἀκαταγώνιστα φυλακτήρια
10 τῷ περιβόλῳ τῆς πόλεως εἶεν. ἔτι μέντοι κὰν τῷ
Ἑραίῳ, ὅπερ Ἱερὸν² καλοῦσι τανῦν, τῇ θεοτόκῳ
νεῶν οὐκ εὐδιήγητον κατεστήσατο.
- 11 Ἐν χωρίῳ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁ Δεύτερον ἐπικαλεῖ-
ται, ἱεροπρεπές τε καὶ ἀγαστὸν ὅλως ἀνέθηκεν
ἔδος Ἀννῆ ἀγία, ἣν τῆς μὲν θεοτόκου γεγονέναι
μητέρα τινὲς οἴονται, τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ τιτθῆν.

¹ ἀνέθηκεν V : ἀνέκαθεν A.

² Ἱερὸν Haury : Ἱερεῖον.

¹ "Spring"; modern Balukli, to the west of the land-walls.

² i.e. the land-wall as distinguished from the harbour-wall.

which is held in place without instability, and at the magnificence which is free from bad taste.

He dedicated to the Virgin another shrine in the place called Pegê.¹ In that place is a dense grove of cypresses and a meadow abounding in flowers in the midst of soft glebe, a park abounding in beautiful shrubs, and a spring bubbling silently forth with a gentle stream of sweet water—all especially suitable to a sanctuary. Such are the surroundings of the sanctuary. But the church itself is not easy to describe in such terms as it deserves, nor can one readily form a mental vision of it, nor do it justice in whispering speech. It must suffice to say only this, that it surpasses most shrines both in beauty and in size. Both these churches were erected outside the city-wall,² the one where it starts beside the shore of the sea, the other close to the Golden Gate, as it is called, which chances to be near the end of the line of fortifications, in order that both of them may serve as invincible defences to the circuit-wall of the city.³ Also in the Heraeum, which they now call the Hieron, he built a church to the Mother of God which it is not easy to describe.

In that section of the city which is called Deuteron⁴ he erected a most holy and revered church to St. Anna, whom some consider to have been the mother of the Virgin and the grandmother

³ The Church of the Spring was far removed from the Golden Gate and from the sea. Procopius forgets or wilfully distorts the facts of topography in depicting a purely fanciful arrangement of these two churches as guardians of the city-wall.

⁴ "Second," as being marked by the second milestone from the original centre of the city, which was near the point of the peninsula.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

12 ἄνθρωπος γὰρ ἥπερ ἐβούλετο γεγονώς ὁ θεὸς
καὶ τριγωνίας ἀνέχεται καὶ γενεαλογεῖται τὰ
13 ἐκ μητρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἴσα. τούτου δὲ δὴ τοῦ
νεῷ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ἀμφὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀγνιὰν
ἐσχάτην Ζωῇ μάρτυρι σεμνὸν ἐπιεικῶς ἔδος
πεποιήται.

14 Τοῦ δὲ ἀρχαγγέλου Μιχαὴλ ἱερὸν εὗρεν ἐν
Βυζαντίῳ βραχὺ τε καὶ ἀφεγγές ἄγαν καὶ ὡς
ἥκιστα τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ ἀνεῖσθαι πρέπον πρὸς
σενάτορός τινος τῶν πατρικίων ἐν χρόνῳ γεγενη-
μένον τῷ ἔμπροσθεν, κοιτωνίσκῳ οἰκίας ἀτεχνῶς

B 186 15 ἐμφέρές οὐδὲ λίαν εὐδαίμονος. διὸ δὴ καθεῖλε
μὲν αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων, ὡς μή
τι αὐτῷ τῆς προτέρας ἀκοσμίας ἀπολειφθεῖη.

16 εὐμέγεθες δὲ τεκτηνάμενος κατὰ ¹ τὸν νῦν φαινό-
μενον τρόπον, ἐς κάλλος μεταβιβάζει θαυμάσιον

17 οἶον. ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τέμενός
ἐστίν, οὐ κατὰ πολὺ δὲ φαίνεται προέχον τοῦ
εὗρους τὸ μῆκος. τῆς δὲ πλευρᾶς ἥ πρὸς
ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται κατὰ μὲν τὰ ἄκρα
παχὺς ἐκατέρωθεν τοῖχος λίθοις ἐν πλήθει ξυγ-
κειμένοις ἀποτετόρνευται, κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα ἐξ
18 ὑπαγωγῆς ἀποχωρῶν ὑποστέλλεται. καὶ αὐτῆς
ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μὲν ἀνέχουσι τὸν νεῶν κίονες χροιαῖς
τισι ποικιλλόμενοι φύσει. ὁ δὲ καταντικρὺ πρὸς
δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον τοῖχος ταῖς εἰς τὸν νεῶν
εἰσαγούσαις διήρηται θύραις.

P 13 δ'. Ἐς δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀποστόλους τὸ πιστὸν
ἐπιδέδεικται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. πρῶτα μὲν Πέτρῳ
καὶ Παύλῳ νεῶν οὐ πρότερον ὄντα ἐν Βυζαντίῳ

¹ κατὰ V : ἐς A.

of Christ. For God, being born a man as was His wish, is subjected to even a third generation, and His ancestry is traced back from His mother even as is that of a man. Not far from this same church, near the last street within the city, he built a very imposing shrine to the martyr Zoë.

He found a shrine of the Archangel Michael in Byzantium which was small and very badly lighted, utterly unworthy to be dedicated to the Archangel; it was built in earlier times by a certain patrician senator, quite like a tiny bedroom of a dwelling-house, and that, too, of the house of one who is not very prosperous. So he tore this down, even to the lowest foundations, so that no trace of its earlier unseemliness might remain.¹ And increasing its size to the proportions which it now displays, he transformed it into a marvellously beautiful building. For the church¹ is in the form of a rectangle (*tetrapleuron*), and the length appears not much greater than the width. And at either end of the side which faces the east a thick wall was perfectly constructed of many fitted stones, but in the middle it is drawn back so as to form a recess. On either side of this rise columns of naturally variegated hues which support the church. The opposite wall, which faces approximately the west, is pierced by the doors which lead into the church.

iv. His faith in the Apostles of Christ he displayed in the following manner. First he built a Church of Peter and Paul, which had not previously existed in

¹ Procopius often uses *τέμενος* (*temenos*), as here, to mean the church building itself, not the enclosure about it; sometimes he employs the word to mean both the building and the enclosure.

- ἔδειματο παρὰ τὴν βασιλέως αὐλήν, ἥ Ὁρμίσδου
 2 τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπώνυμος ἦν· ταύτην¹ γὰρ οἰκίαν
 αὐτοῦ ἰδίαν Παλάτιον εἶναι δοκεῖν τε καὶ πρέπειν
 τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ τῆς οἰκοδομίας διαπραξάμενος,
 ἐπειδὴ αὐτοκράτωρ κατέστη Ῥωμαίοις, τοῖς
 3 ἄλλοις βασιλείοις ἐνήψεν. οὐ δὴ καὶ τέμενος
 ἄλλο ἀγίοις ἐπιφανέσι Σεργίῳ τε καὶ Βάκχῳ
 ἔδειματο, καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ τέμενος ἄλλο ἐκ πλαγίου
 4 τούτῳ παρακείμενον. ἄμφω δὲ τούτῳ τῷ νεῷ
 οὐκ ἀντιπροσώπῳ, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλαγίας ἀλλήλοιν
 ἐστᾶσι, συνημμένοι τε καὶ ἀλλήλοισι ἐνάμιλλοι
 ὄντες, καὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ἐπικοινωνοῦμενοι, καὶ ἴσα
 ἀλλήλοισι τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ τὰ κράσπεδα
 περιβεβλημένοι, καὶ ἄτερος θατέρου² οὔτε κάλ-
 5 λους πέρι οὔτε μεγέθους οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς
 πλεονεκτῶν ἢ ἐλασσούμενος δείκνυται. ὁμοίως
 μὲν γὰρ ἐκάτερος τῇ αἴγλῃ τῶν λίθων ὑπεραστράπ-
 τει τὸν ἥλιον, ὁμοίως δὲ χρυσοῦ περιουσία παντα-
 χόθι κατακορῆς ἐστὶ καὶ κατακομᾷ τοῖς ἀναθή-
 6 μασιν. ἐνὶ μέντοι διαλλάσσουσι μόνῳ. τὸ μὲν
 γὰρ μῆκος αὐτοῖν τῷ μὲν κατ' εὐθὺ διαπεπόνηται,
 τῷ δὲ οἱ κίονες ἐν ἡμικύκλῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον
 7 ἐστᾶσιν. ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῖς μία μὲν ἡ ἐπὶ τῶν
 προθύρων στοὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ νάρθηκος τῷ περιμήκης
 εἶναι ὠνομασμένη· ἐπὶ κοινῆς δὲ προπύλαια

¹ ταύτην γὰρ οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ . . . ἔδειματο, καὶ V, ἔνθα τὴν οἰκίαν εἶχεν αὐτὸς πρὸ τοῦ βασιλεῦσαι A.

² ἄτερος θατέρου A: om. V, οὐδέτερος Maltretus.

¹ Hormisdas was a fugitive Persian prince, high in the counsels of the Emperor Constantius, A.D. 353-361.

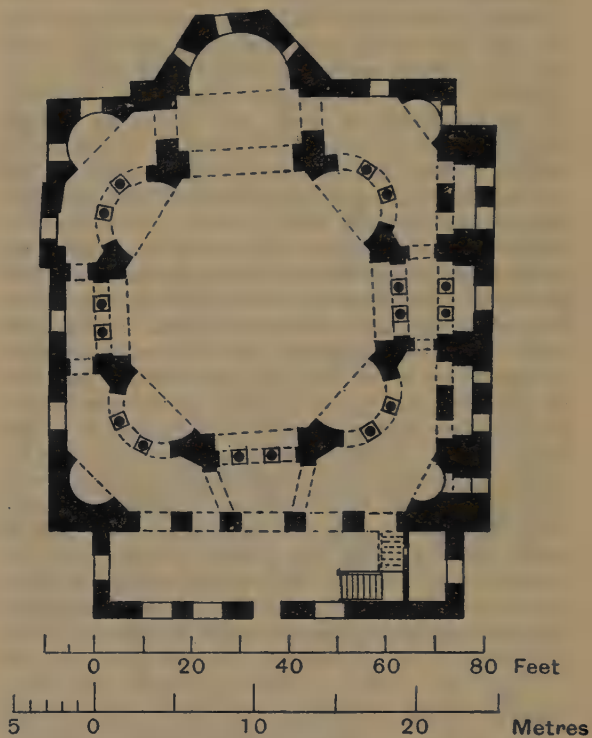
² Justinian.

Byzantium, alongside the imperial residence which in former times was called by the name of Hormisdas.¹ For he² had contrived that this building, which was his private residence, should both seem to be a palace, and by the magnificence of its structure be as handsome as one; and when he became Emperor of the Romans he joined it to the Palace proper. There too he built another shrine to the famous Saints Sergius and Bacchus, and then also another shrine which stood at an angle to this one.³ These two churches do not face each other, but stand at an angle to one another, being at the same time joined to each other and rivalling each other; and they share the same entrances (*eisodoi*) and are like each other in all respects, even to the open spaces (*kraspeda*) by which they are surrounded; and each of them is found to be neither superior nor inferior to the other either in beauty or in size or in any other respect. Indeed each equally outshines the sun by the gleam of its stones, and each is equally adorned throughout with an abundance of gold and teems with offerings. In just one respect, however, they do differ. For the long axis (*mêkos*) of one of them is built straight, while in the other church the columns stand for the most part in a semi-circle (*hêmikyklos*).⁴ But whereas they possess a single colonnaded stoa,⁵ called a narthex because of its great length, for each one of their porches (*prothyra*), they have their propylaea (*propylaia*) entirely in common, and

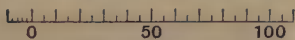
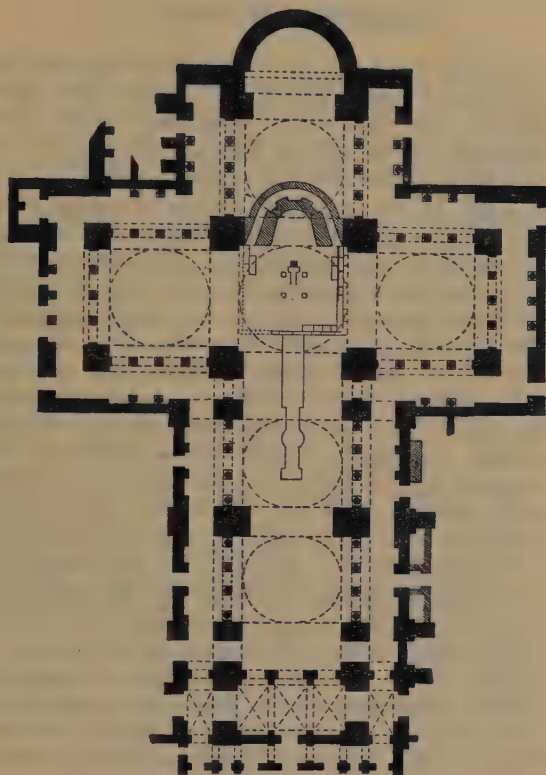
³ See the plan of the Church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus on p. 46; the other church has been destroyed.

⁴ This is a way of saying that one church was a basilica, in which the walls and aisles ran in a straight line, while the other (that of SS. Sergius and Bacchus) was built on a central plan with exedras.

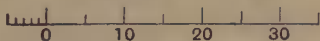
⁵ Cf. *infra* V. vi. 23.



PLAN OF SS. SERGIUS AND BACCHUS.



Feet



Metres

PLAN OF ST. JOHN AT EPHESUS.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πάντα, ἥ τε αὐλή καὶ μέταυλοι θύραι καὶ τὸ
8 προσήκειν¹ τοῖς βασιλείοις. οὕτω δὲ ἄμφω
ἀγαστὰ τὰ ἱερὰ τάδε ξυμβαίνει εἶναι ὥστε
διαφανῶς τῆς τε πόλεως ὅλης καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τῶν
βασιλείων ἐγκαλλώπισμα τυγχάνει ὄντα.

- 9 Μετὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἅπαντας ὑπερ-
φυῶς σέβων ἐποίει τοιάδε. ἦν τις ἐν Βυζαντίῳ
ἐκ παλαιοῦ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις νεὺς ἅπασι μήκει
τε χρόνου κατασεισθεὶς ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι
10 ἐστήξειν γεγονῶς ὑποπτος. τοῦτον περιελὼν
Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὅλον οὐχ ὅσον ἀνανεώ-
σασθαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγέθους
καὶ κάλλους πέρι ἀξιώτερον καταστήσασθαι.
11 ὑπετέλεσε δὲ² τὸ σπούδασμα τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.
εὐθείαι συνημμέναι κατὰ μέσον ἀλλήλαιν ἐπὶ
σταυροῦ σχήματος πεποιήνται δύο, ἥ μὲν ὀρθή
πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά τε καὶ δύνοντα τὸν ἥλιον οὕσα,
ἐγκαρσία δὲ ἡ ἑτέρα πρὸς τε ἄρκτον τετραμμένη
P 14 12 καὶ ἄνεμον νότον. τοίχοις μὲν ἐκ περιφεροῦς
ἀποπεφραγμένοι τὰ ἔξωθεν, ἐντὸς δὲ περιβαλλό-
μεναι κίοσιν ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω ἐστῶσι· κατὰ δὲ
B 188 ταῖν δυοῖν εὐθείαιν τὸ ζεύγμα, εἴη δ' ἂν κατὰ
μέσον αὐταῖν μάλιστα, τοῖς οὐκ ὀργιάζουσιν
ἄβατος τετέλεσται χῶρος, ὥνπερ ἱερατεῖον, ὡς τὸ
13 εἰκός, ὀνομάζουσι. καὶ αὐτοῦ αἱ μὲν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα
πλευραὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ ἐγκαρσίῳ κειμένης εὐθείας

¹ προσήκειν Maltretus for προσοικεῖν V.

² ὑπετέλεσέ τε V, ἐπετέλεσε δὲ Maltretus.

¹ A mosque has been built over the ruins of this church, but it has been possible to recover its plan; see the study of

they share a single court (*aulê*), and the same doors leading in from the court (*metauloi thyrai*), and they are alike in that they belong to the Palace. These two churches are so admirable that they manifestly form an adornment of the whole city, and not merely of the Palace.

Afterwards, as shewing very special honour to all the Apostles together, he did as follows. There was in Byzantium from ancient times a church dedicated to all the Apostles; but having by now been shaken by the passage of time, it had fallen under the suspicion that it would not continue to stand. This the Emperor Justinian pulled down entirely, and he was at pains not simply to restore it, but to make it more worthy both in size and in beauty. He carried out his effort as follows.¹ Two straight lines were drawn, intersecting each other at the middle in the form of a cross, one extending east and west, and the other which crossed this running north and south. On the outside these lines were defined by walls on all of the sides, while on the inside they were traced by rows of columns standing above one another. At the crossing of the two straight lines, that is to say at about the middle,² there was set aside a place which may not be entered by those who may not celebrate the mysteries; this with good reason they call the "sanctuary" (*hierateion*). The two arms (*pleurai*) of this enclosure which lie along the transverse line are equal

K. Wulzinger, "Die Apostelkirche und die Mehmedije zu Konstantinopel," *Byzantion*, vii., 1932, pp. 7-39. The plan is illustrated by that of the Church of St. John at Ephesus (above, p. 47), which Procopius says (below, V. i. 6) closely resembled the Church of the Apostles.

² i.e., of the church.

- ἴσαι ἀλλήλαις τυγχάνουσιν οὔσαι, τῆς μέντοι
 ὀρθῆς ἢ πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον ἐς τόσον τῆς ἐτέρας
 πεποιήται μείζων ὅσον ἀπεργάσασθαι τὸ τοῦ
 14 σταυροῦ σχῆμα. τῆς δὲ ὀροφῆς τὰ μὲν τοῦ
 ἱερατείου καλουμένου καθύπερθεν τῷ τῆς Σοφίας
 ἱερῷ κατὰ γε τὰ μέσα ἐμφερῇ εἵργασται, πλήν
 γε δὴ ὅτι ταῦτα ἐκείνων ἐλασσοῦσθαι μεγέθει
 15 συμβαίνει. αἱ τε γὰρ ἀψίδες τέσσαρες οὔσαι κατὰ
 τὸν αὐτὸν ἡώρηνται τε καὶ συνδέονται ἀλλήλαις
 τρόπον καὶ τὸ κυκλοτερές ὑπερανεστηκὸς κατὰ
 τὰς θυρίδας διήρηται, τό τε σφαιροειδὲς ἐπικυρ-
 τούμενον ὑπερθεν μετεωρίζεσθαι που δοκεῖ καὶ
 οὐκ ἐπὶ στερεῶς τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐστάναι, καίπερ
 16 ἀσφαλείας εὖ ἔχον. τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς ὀροφῆς
 μέσον τῇδε πεποιήται· κατὰ δὲ τὰς πλευρὰς
 τέσσαρας οὔσας, ἡπὲρ μοι εἴρηται, κατὰ ταῦτα
 τῷ μέσῳ τὸ μέγεθος εἵργασται, τούτου δὴ μόνου
 ἐνδέοντος, ὅτι δὴ τοῦ σφαιρικοῦ ἔνερθεν οὐ διήρη-
 17 ται ἢ οἰκοδομία θυρίσιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ
 ἀγίστευμα τοῦτο ἐξείργαστο, καταφανεῖς¹ οἱ
 ἀπόστολοι πεποίηνται πᾶσιν ὥς γεγῆθασί τε
 τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως τιμῇ καὶ κατακόρως ἐν-
 18 αβρύνονται. σώματα γοῦν τῶν² ἀποστόλων
 Ἀνδρέου τε καὶ Λουκᾶ καὶ Τιμοθέου ἄδηλά τε
 καὶ ὅλως κρυφαῖα τὰ πρότερα ὄντα τηνικάδε
 πᾶσιν ἐνδηλα γέγονεν, οὐκ ἀπαξιούντων, οἶμαι,
 τὴν βασιλέως πίστιν, ἀλλ' ἐπιχωρούντων αὐτῷ
 B 189 διαρρήδην ὀρώντί τε αὐτοὺς καὶ προσιόντι καὶ
 ἀπτομένῳ τῆς ἐνθένδε ὠφελείας τε καὶ περὶ τὸν
 βίον ἀσφαλείας ἀπόνασθαι. ἐγνώσθη δὲ ὧδε.

¹ καταφανεῖς Hoeschel : καταφανές.

to each other, but the arm which extends toward the west, along the upright line, is enough longer than the other to make the form of the cross. That portion of the roof which is above the sanctuary, as it is called, is built, in the centre at least, on a plan resembling that of the Church of Sophia, except that it is inferior to it in size. The arches, four in number, rise aloft and are bound together in the same manner, and the circular drum (*kykloteres*) which stands upon them is pierced by the windows, and the dome (*sphairoeides*) which arches above this seems to float in the air and not to rest upon solid masonry, though actually it is well supported. Thus, then, was the central portion of the roof constructed. And the arms of the building, which are four, as I have said, were roofed on the same plan as the central portion, but this one feature is lacking: underneath the domes (*sphairikon*) the masonry is not pierced by windows. And at the time when this shrine was completed by him, the Apostles made it manifest to all men how they delight in the honour shewn them by the Emperor and glory in it exceedingly. At any rate the bodies of the Apostles Andrew and Luke and Timothy, which previously had been invisible and altogether concealed, became at that time visible to all men, signifying, I believe, that they did not reject the faith of the Emperor, but expressly permitted him to see them and approach them and touch them, that he might thereby enjoy their assistance and the safety of his life. This was made known in the following way.

² τῶν added by Maltrotus.

- 19 Κωνστάντιος ¹ μὲν βασιλεὺς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν
νεὼν ἔς τε τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἀποστό-
λων ἐδείματο, τὰς θήκας γενέσθαι αὐτῷ τε καὶ
τοῖς ἔς τὸ ἔπειτα βασιλεύουσιν ἐνταῦθα τάξας,
οὐκ ἀνδράσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναιξὶν οὐδέν τι
ἦσσαν· ὅπερ καὶ διασώζεται ἔς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον·
οὐ δὴ καὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νεκρὸν
20 ἔθετο. ἀποστόλων δὲ σώματα ἐνταῦθα εἶναι ὡς
ἦκιστα πη ἐπεσημήνατο, οὐδέ τις ἐνταῦθα ἐφαί-
νετο χώρος σώμασιν ἁγίοις ἀνεῖσθαι δοκῶν.
21 ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἀνοικοδομου-
μένου τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο, οἱ μὲν λιθουργοὶ τὸ ἔδαφος
διώρυσσον ὅλον, τοῦ μή τι ἄκοσμον τῇδε λελεῖφ-
θαι· θήκας δὲ ξυλῖνας ἐνταῦθά πη ἀπημελημένας
τεθέανται τρεῖς, γράμμασιν ἐγκειμένοις σφίσι
δηλούσας, ὡς Ἀνδρέου τε καὶ Λουκᾶ καὶ Τιμοθέου
22 τῶν ἀποστόλων σώματα εἶεν· ἅπερ ἀσμενέστατα
P 15 βασιλεὺς τε αὐτὸς καὶ Χριστιανοὶ ξύμπαντες
εἶδον, πομπὴν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ πανήγυριν ἐπιτετε-
λεκότες, τῇ τε περὶ αὐτοὺς τιμῇ ἐξοσιωσάμενοι
τὰ εἰωθότα καὶ περιστείλαντες τὰς θήκας αὐθις
τῇ γῇ ἔκρυψαν, οὐκ ἄσημον οὐδὲ ἀγείτονα
λιπόντες τὸν χώρον, ἀλλὰ σώμασιν ἀποστόλων
23 ἀνειμένον καταστησάμενοι ξὺν εὐσεβείᾳ. εὐδη-
λον δὲ ὡς ἀμειβόμενοι, ὅπερ μοι εἴρηται, οἱ ἀπό-
στολοι οἶδε τὴν ἔς αὐτοὺς βασιλέως τιμὴν πεφῆνασι
24 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τανῦν. βασιλέως γὰρ εὐσεβοῦντος
οὐδὲ ἀποφοιτᾶ τῶν ἀνθρωπείων τὰ θεῖα πραγμάτων

¹ Κωνστάντιος Haury : κωνσταντῖνός : Κωνσταντίνος editors.

The Emperor Constantius¹ had built this church in honour of the Apostles and in their name, decreeing that tombs for himself and for all future Emperors should be placed there, and not for the rulers alone, but for their consorts as well; and this custom is preserved to the present day. Here also he laid the body of his father Constantine. But neither did he give any intimation whatever that the bodies of Apostles were there, nor did any place appear there which seemed to be given over to the bodies of holy men. But when the Emperor Justinian was rebuilding this shrine, the workmen dug up the whole soil so that nothing unseemly should be left there; and they saw three wooden coffins lying there neglected, which revealed by inscriptions upon them that they contained the bodies of the Apostles Andrew and Luke and Timothy. And the Emperor himself and all the Christians saw these with the greatest joy, and having arranged a procession in their honour and a festival, and having performed the customary holy rites over them and having put the coffins in order, they laid them once more in the ground, not leaving the place unmarked or solitary, but piously ordaining that it be dedicated to the bodies of Apostles. And it is plain, as I have said, that it was in requital for this honour which the Emperor shewed them, that these Apostles appeared to men on this occasion. For when the Emperor is pious, divinity walks not

¹ Eusebius and others state that the church was founded by Constantine the Great, while Procopius and some writers attribute it to Constantius; evidently it was begun by Constantine and completed after his death by his son (cf. A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, Leipzig, 1908, II. p. 110).

B 190

- ἀλλ' ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τε καὶ ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν τῇ ἐς
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁμίλια φιλεῖ.
- 25 Τίς δ' ἂν τὸν Ἀκακίου σιωπῶν νεών; ὃνπερ
καταπεπονηκότα περιελὼν ἐξ αὐτῶν θεμελίων
ἀνέστησε, μέγεθος περιβεβλημένον θαυμάσιον ἡλί-
κον· ὃς κίοσι μὲν ἐπῆρται πανταχόθι λευκοῖς
ὑπεράγαν, λίθῳ δὲ τὰ ἐδάφη παραπλησίῳ ἡμφίε-
σται, ὥνπερ ἀπαστράπτει τοσοῦτον ἡ αἴγλη
ὥστε καὶ δόξαν παρέχεσθαι ὅτι δὴ χιόσιν ὁ νεὼς
- 26 ἅπας κατάρρυτός ἐστι. στοαὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ προβέβλην-
ται δύο, περιστυλος μὲν ἀτέρα οὖσα, ἡ δὲ πρὸς
- 27 ἀγορὰν νενευκυῖα. μικροῦ με τὸ μαρτύριον ἐκεῖ-
νο παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν, ὃ Πλάτωνι ἀνείται
ἀγίῳ, ἱεροπρεπές τε ὡς ἀληθῶς ὃν καὶ σεμνὸν
ἄγαν, οὐ πολλῶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἄποθεν ἢ βασιλέως
Κωνσταντίνου ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ
τὸν Μωκίῳ μάρτυρι ἀνειμένον νεών, οὐπερ τὰ
- 28 ἱερὰ πάντα μεγέθει ἐλάσσω. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸ
Θύρσου μάρτυρος ἔδος καὶ μὴν τὸ Θεοδώρου
ἀγίου τέμενος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως κείμενον ἐν χώρῳ
καλουμένῳ Ῥησίῳ, καὶ τό τε Θέκλης μάρτυρος
ἱερόν, ὃ παρὰ τὸν τῆς πόλεως λιμένα ἐστὶν
ὃνπερ ἐπώνυμον Ἰουλιανοῦ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, καὶ
τὸ Θεοδότης ἀγίας ἐν προαστείῳ καλουμένῳ
- 29 Ἐβδόμῳ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος
ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου Ἰουστίνου βασιλεύοντος ἐκ θεμελίων
ἐδείματο, ἀπαγγέλλεσθαι μὲν οὐ ράδια λόγῳ,

¹ Acacius, said to have been a centurion from Cappadocia was martyred at Byzantium under Maximianus. The Church of Acacius which was restored by Justinian had been built by Constantine the Great, and stood at the Heptascalum, on

afar from human affairs, but is wont to mingle with men and to take delight in associating with them.

Who could pass over in silence the Church of Acacius?¹ This had fallen into ruin, and he took it down and rebuilt it from the foundations, so as to make it a building of marvellous size. It is carried on all sides on columns of astonishing whiteness, and the floor is covered with similar stone, from which such a brilliant light is reflected that it gives the impression that the whole church is coated with snow. And two stoas are thrown out in front of it, one of them making a court (*peristylos*), the other facing² the market-place. I have almost omitted to mention that martyr's shrine which is dedicated to St. Plato, a truly holy and much revered building, not far from the market-place which bears the name of the Emperor Constantine; also the church dedicated to the martyr Mocius, to which all other shrines yield in size. There is also the resting-place of the martyr Thyrsus, and likewise the precinct of St. Theodore, situated outside the city at a place called Rhesium, as well as the sanctuary of the martyr Thecla, which is hard by the harbour of the city which chances to bear the name of Julian, and that of St. Theodota in the suburb called Hebdomum.³ All these our present Emperor built from the foundations during the reign of his uncle Justinus, and they are not easy to describe in words, and

the Sea of Marmara. There was also an oratory at the place where Acacius was executed.

² Possibly "open towards" or "leading to."

³ Modern Macrikeuy, called Hebdomum because it stood at the "seventh" milestone from the original centre of the city.

30 θαυμάζεσθαι ¹ δὲ ὄψει κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀμήχανα.
 ἔλκει τὸν λόγον ἐς αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀγαθονίκου τοῦ ἁγίου
 νεὼς καὶ βιάζεται οὐδὲ φωνὴν ἔτι ἔχοντα οὐδὲ
 ὀνόματα ἐφαρμόσαι τοῖς πράγμασι. διόπερ ἡμῖν
 μὲν ἄχρι τοῦδε εἰπεῖν ἀποχρήσει· φράσαι δὲ
 αὐτοῦ τό τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ ἐς ἅπαντα μεγαλο-
 πρεπὲς ἐτέροις ἀφίεμεν, οἷς ἂν ὁ λόγος ἀκμάζων τε
 καὶ οὐπω πεπονηκὼς παντάπασιν εἴη.

P 16 ε'. Καὶ ἄλλα δὲ τεμένη ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ
 Ἀνάπλῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἡπειρον εὑρεν
 οὐ πρόποντα τῶν τινι ἀνεῖσθαι ἁγίων, ἔτι μέντοι
 καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν κόλπον, ὅνπερ Κέρας οἱ ἐπιχώριοι
 Κεροέσση ² τῇ Βύζαντος μητρὶ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως
 οἰκιστοῦ ἐπωνύμως καλοῦσιν, ἐν τοῖς ἅπασιν
 ἐπιδέδεικται πολυτέλειαν ἐπιτηδεύς βασιλεῖ ἔχου-
 σαν, ἅπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω, ὑπειπὼν πρότερον
 ὄντινα διακοσμεῖ τρόπον ἢ θάλασσα τὸ Βυζάντιον.

2 Πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ ἡ θάλασσα ἐν
 καλῷ τίθεται ἀμφ' αὐτὸ ³ μάλιστα, ἐγκολπου-
 μένη τε καὶ εἰς πορθμοὺς ξυναγομένη καὶ χεομένη
 ἐς πέλαγος μέγα, ταύτῃ τε τὴν πόλιν εὐπρόσωπὸν
 τε διαφερόντως ἐργαζομένη καὶ σκέπας λιμένων
 ἡσύχιον τοῖς ναυτιλλομένοις παρεχομένη, τὰ τε
 εἰς τὴν δίαιταν εὐπορον καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν χρεῖαν
 3 εὐδαίμονα. πελάγη γὰρ δύο ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ὄντα,
 ὃ τε δὴ Αἰγαῖος καὶ ὁ Εὐξείνιος καλούμενος
 Πόντος, ξυνίασιν ἀλλήλοις ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑω τῆς
 πόλεως καὶ συγκρουόμενα τῇ τοῦ ροθίου ἐπι-
 μιξία, ταύτῃ τε τὴν ἡπειρον τῇ ἐσβολῇ βιαζόμενα,

¹ θαυμάζεσθαι V: φράζεσθαι A.

² Κεροέσση Maltretus: κορέσση V.

³ αὐτὸ Hoeschel: αὐτὸ V, αὐτῷ A.

one cannot admire them sufficiently when they are seen. But the Church of St. Agathonicus now draws my narrative and constrains me, though I no longer have the voice or the words to do justice to it. So I must content myself with mention of this church, and leave it to others to describe its beauty and its magnificence in every detail—others whose power of utterance is fresh and not yet wholly spent.

v. There are other shrines also, both in the place called Anaplus¹ and on the shore of the opposite continent, which he found in a condition unworthy to be dedicated to any of the saints, as well as along the inlet which the inhabitants call Ceras,² after Ceroessa, the mother of Byzas, the founder of the city; and in all these he displayed a munificence altogether befitting an Emperor, as I shall presently shew, after first explaining how the sea adorns Byzantium.

Besides the city's other blessings the sea is set most beautifully all about it, forming curving bays, contracting into narrow straits, and spreading into a great open sea; and thus it makes the city exceptionally beautiful, and offers the quiet shelter of harbours to navigators, thereby abundantly providing the city with the necessities of life and making it rich in all useful things. For in reality there are two seas embracing it, the Aegean on the one side and the sea called the Euxine on the other; these unite with each other to the east of the city, and rushing together as they mingle their waves, and pushing back the solid land by this invasion, they beautify the

¹ Modern Arnautkeuy, on the European bank of the Bosphorus.

² "Horn," now known as the "Golden Horn."

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 4 καλλωπίζουσι κύκλω τὴν πόλιν. πορθμοὶ τοῖνυν
αὐτὴν περιβάλλουσι τρεῖς, ἀλλήλοις μὲν ἀπερη-
ρυσμένοι, ἐς κάλλος δὲ αὐτῇ διατεταγμένοι καὶ
χρεῖαν, περιπλείσθαι μὲν ἡδιστοὶ ἅπαντες, ἀπο-
σκοπήσασθαι δὲ ποθεινοί, ἐνορμίσασθαι δὲ λίαν
5 εὐλιμένες. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν μέσος ἐκ Πόντου
προϊὼν τοῦ Εὐξείνου εὐθὺ τῆς πόλεως ὡς δια-
κοσμήσων αὐτὴν ἵεται, ἐφ' ἑκάτερα δὲ ἄμφω τὰ
B 192 6 ἡπείρω διακεκλήρωται. ὧν δὴ ταῖς ὄχθαις πεπίε-
σται, ἐπιφρίττων τε καὶ γαυρουμένῳ ἐοικώς
ὅτι δὴ ἐποχούμενος τῇ τε Ἀσίᾳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ
7 προσβαίνει τῇ πόλει. δόξαις ἂν ποταμὸν τεθεᾶ-
σθαι ἐπίπροσθεν προσηνεῖ τῷ ρείθρῳ ἰόντα.
ὁ δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ θλίβεται μὲν ἐκατέρω-
θεν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ταῖς ἀκταῖς, τὰ τε ἄλσῃ καὶ
λειμώνων κάλλη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρου
ἐνδεικνύμενος ὑποκείμενα τῇ τῆς πόλεως ὄψει.
8 εὐρύνεται δὲ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐξωθούμενος αὐτῆς πρὸς
ἄνεμον νότον καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν αὐτῆς ὡς πορρωτάτῳ
9 ἀποκομίζων. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς περιβάλλον διαμένει
τὴν πόλιν τὸ ῥόθιον ἄχρι ἐς δύο ντά που τὸν ἥλιον.
ὁ δὲ δὴ τρίτος πορθμὸς τοῦ μὲν πρώτου ἐχόμενος
ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, ἐκ δὲ Συκῶν τῶν καλουμένων ἀρχό-
μενος, ἐπὶ πλείστον διήκει τῆς πόλεως πρὸς
βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, οὗ δὴ ἐς κόλπον τελευτῶν παύεται.
10 οὕτω μὲν οὖν στεφανοῖ τὴν πόλιν ἡ θάλασσα,
ἐκδέχεται δὲ ἀνὰ τὸ λειπόμενον ἡ γῆ, μεταξὺ
P 17 τοσαύτῃ οὔσα, ὅσον τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης

¹ The Bosphorus.

■ The northern extremity of the Sea of Marmara which lies along the east side of the city.

city as they surround it. So it is encircled by three straits which open into one another, so disposed that they both adorn and serve the city, all of them most delightful for sailing, each a pleasurable sight for the eyes, and very commodious for anchorage. And the middle one of them,¹ coming down from the Euxine Sea, flows straight toward the city, as though to beautify it, and on either side of it the two continents are placed. And it is pressed in by their banks, so that it ripples and seems to plume itself because it approaches the city mounted upon both Asia and Europe. One would imagine that he was looking upon a river moving toward him with gentle current. And the strait which lies on the left of this² is confined by its shores on either side for a very great distance, displaying the woods and the lovely meadows and all the other details of the opposite shore which lie open to view from the city. Then from that point it broadens as it is thrust away from the city toward the south, and carries the coast of Asia very far from the city. Yet the wash of the sea continues to envelop the city up to its western boundary. The third strait,³ which branches off from the first toward the right, commencing at Sycae,⁴ as it is called, extends for a very great distance along the side of the city which faces the north, and terminates in the bay which forms its end. Thus the sea forms a garland about the city; the remainder of the city's boundary is formed by the land which lies between the two arms of the sea, and is of sufficient size to bind together there the crown

³ The Golden Horn.

⁴ Literally, "Fig-trees"; modern Galata.

- 11 στεφάνην ἐνταῦθα ξυνδεῖσθαι. πραῖνεται δὲ διη-
νεκές ὁ κόλπος οὗτος καὶ ἀναθολοῦσθαι οὐδαμῇ
πέφυκεν, ὥσπερ ὀρίων τῷ κλύδωνι κειμένων
ἐνταῦθα καὶ σάλου τὸ ἐνθένδε παντὸς τῇ τῆς
12 πόλεως εἰργομένου τιμῇ. χειμῶνος δέ, ἂν οὕτω
τύχῃ, καὶ ἀνέμων σκληρῶν τοῖς τε πελάγεσι καὶ
τῷ πορθμῷ ἐπιπесόντων, ἐπειδὰν ἐς τὴν εἴσοδον
ἴκωνται τοῦ κόλπου αἱ νέες, ἀκυβέρνητοί τε τὸ
13 λοιπὸν ἴασι καὶ ἀπροβουλεύτως ὀρμίζονται. ἐς
σταδίους μὲν γὰρ πλεῖν ἢ τεσσαράκοντα τὸ
περίμετρον τοῦ κόλπου διήκει, λιμὴν δὲ ὅλος
πανταχῇ ἐστίν· ὥστε ἀμέλει ὀρμιζομένης ἐνταῦθα
νηὸς ἡ μὲν πρύμνα τῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐπῆρται, ἡ δὲ
B 193 πρῶρα ἐν τῇ γῇ κάθηται, ὥσπερ ἀλλήλοις τῶν
στοιχείων ἀμιλλωμένων, ὁπότερον ἂν αὐτοῖν
δύναιτο ¹ μᾶλλον τὴν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐνεργολαβεῖν
ὑπουργίαν.

- ς'. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ κόλπου τοῦδε τοιαῦτά ἐστι.
βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς κάλλος ἀμφ' αὐτὸν
ἐξ οἰκοδομίας πεποιημένος ἐπιφανέστερον ἐξειργά-
2 σατο. τό τε γὰρ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ κόλπου
Λαυρεντίου ἁγίου μαρτύριον ἀφεγγές τε τὰ
πρότερα ὃν καὶ σκότους ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεων μεθ-
αρμοσάμενος, ὡς διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν, ἐς τὸν νῦν
3 φαινόμενον ἀνέθηκε τρόπον. καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπί-
προσθεν τὸν τῆς θεοτόκου νεῶν ἐν χώρῳ καλου-
μένῳ Βλαχέρναις τοιοῦτον δεδημιούργηκεν οἶός
4 μοι ἔναγχος δεδιήγηται. ἐπέκεινά τε Πρίσκῳ
τε καὶ Νικολάῳ ἁγίοις ἱερὸν ὠκοδομήσατο,
καινουργήσας αὐτός, οὗ δὴ οἱ Βυζάντιοι ἐμφιλο-
χωροῦντες ἐνδιατρίβουσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον,
πῇ μὲν σέβοντές τε καὶ τεθηπότες τοὺς ἁγίους
60

of waters. This bay is always calm, being so fashioned by nature that it is never roiled, just as if limits were set there for the turbulent waters and all billows were excluded from that area so as to do honour to the city. And in winter, even should violent winds chance to fall upon the open spaces of the sea and upon the strait, as soon as ships reach the entrance to the bay, they proceed for the rest of the way without a pilot and are anchored without precautions. For the circuit of the bay extends to a distance of more than forty stades, and furnishes anchorage throughout its whole extent; so that when a ship anchors there the stern rides upon the sea while the prow rests upon the land, as if the two elements contended with each other to see which of them would be able to render the greater service to the city.

vi. Such is the nature of this bay. And the Emperor Justinian adorned it with buildings on all sides and thus made it still more notable. On the left of the bay he found the martyr's shrine of St. Lawrence, which previously had been without a ray of light and practically filled with darkness, and he remodelled it, to speak briefly, and consecrated it in the form in which it is now seen. Over against this, in the quarter called Blachernae, he built the Church of the Virgin which I just described.¹ Further on he established a shrine to St. Priscus and St. Nicholas, an entirely new creation of his own, at a spot where the Byzantines love especially to tarry, some worshipping and doing honour to these saints who

¹ Chap. iii. 3.

¹ δύναιτο Hoeschel : δύναιτο V.

ἐνδήμους σφίσι¹ γινομένους, πῇ δὲ τῆς τοῦ
τεμένους ἀπολαύοντες εὐπρεπείας, ἐπεὶ τῆς θαλάσ-
σης τὸ ῥόθιον βιασάμενος βασιλεὺς ὑπερθέ-
τε τοῦ κλυδωνίου ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐνθέμενος τὰ
θεμέλια τὸ ἱερὸν κατεστήσατο.

5 Κατὰ δὲ τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πέρας² ἔν τε τῷ ἀνάντει
καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ὀρθίῳ τέμενος ἐκ παλαιοῦ Κοσμᾷ τε
καὶ Δαμιανῷ ἁγίοις ἀνεῖται· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτόν ποτε
νενοσηκότα πικρότατα³ καὶ δόκησιν παρεχό-
μενον ὅτι δὴ ἀποθάνοι, πρὸς τε τῶν ἱατρῶν
ἀπολελειμμένον ἄτε δὴ ἐν νεκροῖς κείμενον,
ἔς ὃψιν ἐλθόντες ἐσώσαντο οἱ ἅγιοι οὗτοι ἐκ τοῦ
παραδόξου καὶ τοῦ παραλόγου καὶ ὀρθὸν ἔστησαν.

6 οὓς δὴ εὐγνωμοσύνη ἀμειβόμενος ὅσα γε τὰ
ἀνθρώπεια, ὅλην ἐναλλάξας τε καὶ μετασκευασά-
μενος τὴν προτέραν οἰκοδομίαν ἄκοσμόν τε καὶ
ἄδοξον οὖσαν οὐδὲ ἀξιόχρεων τηλίκους ἁγίοις
ἀνεῖσθαι, κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει τὸν νεῶν κατ-
ελάμπρυνε καὶ φωτὸς αἴγλη, ἅλλα τε πολλὰ οὐ

7 πρότερον ὄντα ἀνέθηκεν. ἐπειδὴν τέ τινες ἀρρωστή-
μασιν ὁμιλήσαιεν ἱατρῶν κρείττοσιν, οἷδε τὴν
ἀνθρωπείαν ἀπογνόντες ἐπικουρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν μόνην
αὐτοῖς ὑπολελειμμένην ἐλπίδα χωροῦσι, καὶ γενό-
μενοι ἐν ταῖς βάρεσι πλέουσι διὰ τοῦ κόλπου ἐπὶ

8 τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεῶν. ἀρχόμενοί τε τοῦ εἰσπλου
εὐθὺς ὁρῶσιν ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκροπόλει τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο
ἀποσεμνυνόμενόν τε τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐγνωμοσύνη
καὶ παρεχόμενον τῆς ἐντεῦθεν ἐλπίδος αὐτοῖς
ἀπολαύειν.

¹ σφίσι l: σφ/// V, om. A.

² πέρας A: κέρας V.

³ πικρότατα V: πικρῶ. A.

have come to dwell among them, and others simply enjoying the charm of the precinct, since the Emperor forced back the wash of the sea and set the foundations far out into the water when he established this sanctuary.¹

At the far end of the bay, on the ground which rises steeply in a sharp slope,² stands a sanctuary dedicated from ancient times to Saints Cosmas and Damian. When the Emperor himself once lay seriously ill, giving the appearance of being actually dead (in fact he had been given up by the physicians as being already numbered among the dead), these Saints came to him here in a vision, and saved him unexpectedly and contrary to all human reason and raised him up. In gratitude he gave them such requital as a mortal may, by changing entirely and remodelling the earlier building, which was unsightly and ignoble and not worthy to be dedicated to such powerful Saints, and he beautified and enlarged the church and flooded it with brilliant light and added many other things which it had not before. So when any persons find themselves assailed by illnesses which are beyond the control of physicians, in despair of human assistance they take refuge in the one hope left to them, and getting on flat-boats they are carried up the bay to this very church. And as they enter its mouth they straightway see the shrine as on an acropolis, priding itself in the gratitude of the Emperor and permitting them to enjoy the hope which the shrine affords.

¹ The Emperor's passion for erecting buildings at the edge of the water is frequently criticised in the *Secret History* (viii. 7, xix. 6, xxvi. 23).

² Modern Eyoub.

- 9 Τοῦ δὲ κόλπου ἐπὶ θάτερα μαρτύριον οἰκοδο-
 μησάμενος βασιλεὺς οὐ πρότερον ὢν ἀνέθηκεν
 10 Ἀνθίμῳ μάρτυρι παρ' αὐτὴν μάλιστα τὴν τοῦ
 κόλπου ἡϊόνα. καὶ τὰ μὲν κράσπεδα τοῦ ἱεροῦ
 11 πραῦνομένη ἐπικλυζόμενα τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρ-
 ροῇ τὸ εὐχαρι ἐπικεικῶς ἔχει. οὐ γὰρ ξὺν θορύβῳ
 τὸ κλυδώνιον ἐπανεστηκὸς εἶτα ¹ εἰς τοὺς ἐκεῖνη
 λίθους ἀράσσεται, οὐδὲ μεγάλα τὸ κύμα ἠχῆσαν,
 οἷά γε τὰ θαλάττια, καὶ σχιζόμενον ἀποκρίνεται
 εἰς εἶδος ἀφρῶδες, ἀλλὰ πρόεισι μὲν προσηνές,
 σιωπηλὸν δὲ ὢν ἐπιφαύει τῆς γῆς, ἀναστρέφει δὲ
 12 μόνον. ἐκδέχεται δὲ τὸ ἐνθένδε αὐλὴ ὁμαλὴ τε
 καὶ λίαν ὑπτία, μαρμάρους μὲν πανταχόθι κεκομ-
 ψευμένη καὶ κίοσιν, ὅψει δὲ ὠραιζόμενῃ τῇ ἐς τὴν
 13 θάλασσαν. στοὰ μετὰ ταύτην καὶ ὁ νεὼς ἐντὸς
 ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐς ὕψος ἐπῆρται λίθων εὐπρε-
 πείᾳ καὶ χρυσῷ κατακεχυμένῳ καλλωπιζόμενος.
 14 τοσοῦτον δὲ προέχει μόνον τοῦ εὖρους τὸ μῆκος
 ἐς ὅσον δὴ ² χῶρον τὸν ἀβέβηλον, ἐν ᾧ ὄργια
 τὰ ἄρρητα τελεῖσθαι θέμις, κατὰ τὴν πλευρὰν
 ἢ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται διήκειν ξυμβαί-
 νει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδέ πη ἔχει.

B 195

- ζ'. Ἐπέκεινα δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ μάλιστα τοῦ κόλπου
 τὸ στόμα Εἰρήνης μάρτυρος νεὼς ἱδρύται. ὃς δὴ
 οὕτω μεγαλοπρεπῶς τῷ βασιλεῖ ὅλος ἐξείργασται
 2 ὥς οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε φράσαι ἱκανῶς ἔχοιμι. ἀντι-
 φιλοτιμούμενος γὰρ τῇ θαλάσῃ ἀμφὶ τοῦ κόλπου
 τῇ εὐπρεπείᾳ, ὥσπερ ὄρμῳ περιφέρει ἐγκαλλώ-
 πισμα τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα ἐντέθεικεν. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ
 τούτου δὴ τοῦ τῆς Εἰρήνης νεὼ ἐπεμνήσθην, καὶ
 τὸ ἐκεῖνη ξυνενεχθὲν ³ οὐ μοι ἀπὸ τρόπου τῇδε

¹ εἶτα V: om. A.

² δὴ V: δὴ τὸν A.

Across the bay the Emperor built a martyr's shrine which had not existed before, by the very strand of the bay, and dedicated it to the martyr Anthimus. The foundations of the shrine are washed by the caressing flow of the sea in an altogether charming manner. For the incoming waves do not rise up with a roar and break on the stones there, nor do the breakers thunder aloud like those of the sea and divide and break up in a foaming mass, but the water comes forward gently, and silently touches the land and then quietly draws back. And extending back from the beach is a smooth and very level court (*aulê*), adorned on all sides with marbles and with columns and glorying in its view over the sea. Beyond this is a stoa with the church inside rising in the form of a quadrangle to a great height and made beautiful by the charm of its stones and by the gold applied to them. And the length exceeds the width only by the extent of the sanctuary, where alone the sacred mysteries may be performed, along the side which faces towards the east. So much, then, for this.

vii. Beyond this, just about at the opening of the bay, was built a Church of the Martyr Eirenê. This entire church was constructed by the Emperor on such a magnificent scale that I, at least, could not possibly do it justice. For seeking to rival the sea in lending beauty to the land about the gulf, he set all these shrines, as in an encircling necklace, round about it. But since I have mentioned this Church of Eirenê, it will not be amiss for me at this point to recount also the incident which happened there.

³ ξυνεχθεν Hoeschel: ξυνεχθεν V.

- 3 γεγράφεται. ἐνταῦθα ἔκειτο λείψανα ἐκ παλαιοῦ
 ἀνδρῶν ἀγίων οὐχ ἦσσαν ἢ τεσσαράκοντα· οἱ
 στρατιῶται μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτύγγανον ὄντες, ἐν
 λεγεῶνι δὲ δυοδεκάτῃ¹ ἐτάττοντο, ἢ ἐν πόλει
 Μελιτηνῇ τῆς Ἀρμενίας τὸ παλαιὸν ἱδρυτο.
- P 19 4 ἡνίκα τοίνυν οἱ λιθοδόμοι διώρυσσον οὐπὲρ
 ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, κιβώτιον εὗρον γράμμασι
 σημαῖνον ὡς λείψανα ἔχοι τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν.
- 5 ὅπερ ἐξήνεγκε λεληθὸς τέως ἐξεπίτηδες ὁ θεός,
 ἅμα μὲν πιστούμενος ἅπαντας ὡς τὰ βασιλέως
 ἀσμενέστατα ἐνδέδεκται δῶρα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ
 ἀνδρὸς τὴν ἀγαθοεργίαν ἀμείψασθαι διατεινό-
- 6 μενος χάριτι μεῖζονι. ἐτύγγανε γὰρ Ἰουστινιανὸς
 βασιλεὺς χαλεπῶς ἄγαν τοῦ σώματος ἔχων, ἐπεὶ
 ρεύματος δεινόν τι χρῆμα κατὰ τὸ γόνυ ἐπιπεσὼν
 συντριβῆναι ταῖς ὀδύναϊς τὸν ἄνδρα ἐποίει· οὐπὲρ
- 7 οἱ αὐτὸς αἰτιώτατος ἦν. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἡμέραις
 ἀπάσαις αἵπερ τὴν Πασχαλίαν ἐορτὴν προτερεύ-
 ουσαι νηστεῖαι καλοῦνται, σκληράν τινα βιοτὴν
 ἔσχε μὴ ὅτι βασιλεῖ ἀλλόκοτον οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
- B 196 8 ἀνθρώπῳ ἀμηγέπη τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀπτομένῳ.
- 9 δυοῖν γὰρ ἡμέραιν διεγεγόνει ἐς αἰὲ ἀπόσιτος ὢν,
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθροῦ βαθέος διηνεκές² ἐκ τῶν
 στρωμάτων ἐξανιστάμενος καὶ προεγρηγορῶς τῆς
 πολιτείας, αἰεὶ τε αὐτῆς ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ διαχειρί-
 ζων τὰ πράγματα, ὀρθριὸς τε καὶ μεσημβρινός,
- 9 καὶ οὐδὲν τι ἦσσαν ἐπινυκτίδιος. πόρρω γὰρ
 τῶν νυκτῶν ἐς κοίτην ἰὼν ἐξανίστατο αὐτίκα δὴ
 μάλα, ὥσπερ χαλεπῶς τοῖς στρώμασιν ἔχων.
- 10 καὶ ἡνίκα δὲ πού τροφὴν αἵροιτο, οἴνου μὲν καὶ

¹ δυοδεκάτῃ Haury: δυοδεκάτῳ or δυοδεκάτῳ.

² διηνεκές om. A.

Here from ancient times were buried the remains of no fewer than forty holy men; these had chanced to be Roman soldiers who served in the Twelfth Legion, which in ancient times had been posted in the city of Melitenê in Armenia. So when the masons were excavating in the place which I have just mentioned, they found a chest shewing by an inscription that it contained the remains of these very men. And God brought to light this chest, which thus far had been forgotten, with an express purpose, partly to assure all men that He had accepted the Emperor's gifts most gladly, and partly because He was eager to repay this great man's beneficence with a greater favour. It chanced that the Emperor Justinian was suffering from a grievous affliction, since a dangerous discharge had set in at the knee and caused him to be tortured with pain; and for this he himself was chiefly responsible. For during all the days which precede the Feast of Easter, and which are called days of fasting, he observed a severe routine which was unfit not only for an Emperor, but for any man who was concerned in any way with state affairs.¹ Indeed he had gone two whole days quite without food, and that too while rising regularly from his bed at early dawn and keeping watch over the State, and constantly managing its affairs by word and deed from early dawn to midday and equally into the night. And although he went to his couch late in the night, he immediately rose again, as if he could not endure his bed. And when he did take nourishment, he

¹ Cf. the description of the Emperor's observances and habits in the *Secret History*, xii. 27, xiii. 28-33.

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ἄρτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδωδίμων ἐκτὸς ἔμενε, βοτάνας δὲ ἥσθιε μόνον, καὶ ταύτας ἀγρίας ἐπὶ χρόνου μῆκος τεταριχευμένας ἀλσί τε καὶ ὄξει,

11 ὃ τε πότος αὐτῷ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐγίνετο μόνον. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τούτοις κατακορῆς γέγονε πώποτε,

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡνίκα δαῖτα αἴροιο, ἀπογευσάμενος τούτων δὴ τῶν αὐτῷ ἐδωδίμων, εἶτα μεθίει, οὐπω

12 ἐδηδοκῶς τὰ αὐτάρκη. ἐντεῦθεν τοίνυν τὸ πάθος ἀκμάσαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱατρῶν ἐπικουρίαν ἐνενικήκει, καὶ χρόνος τῷ βασιλεῖ πολὺς ἐν ταύταις δὴ

13 ταῖς ὀδύναις ἐτρίβη. μεταξὺ δὲ τὰ περὶ τῶν δεδηλωμένων λειψάνων ἀκούσας, τῆς ἀνθρωπείας ἀφέμενος τέχνης, ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤγε, τὴν ὑγείαν ἐπισπώμενος τῇ ἐς αὐτὰ πίστει, καὶ δόξης τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἀπώνατο.

14 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱερεῖς τὸν δίσκον ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐτίθεντο γόνυ, ἀφανίζεται δὲ τὸ πάθος εὐθύς, σώμασι δεδουλωμένοις θεῷ βιασθέν. ὅπερ ἀμφίλεκτον ὁ θεὸς οὐ ξυγχωρῶν εἶναι, σημεῖον τῶν

15 πραττομένων ἐνδέδεικται μέγα. ἔλαιον γὰρ ἐξαπιναίως ἐπιρρεῦσαν μὲν ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἁγίων λειψάνων, ὑπερβλύσαν δὲ τὸ κιβώτιον, τῷ τε πόδε καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τοῦ βασιλέως κατ-

B 197 16 ἐκλυσεν ὅλην ἀλουργὸν οὔσαν. διὸ δὴ ὁ χιτῶν οὕτω καταβεβρεγμένος διασώζεται ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, μαρτύριον μὲν τῶν τηνικάδε γεγενημένων, σωτήριον δὲ τοῖς ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα πάθεσι περιπεσουμένοις τισὶν ἀνηκέστοις.

P 20 ἡ'. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν ὑπογέγραπται Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ Κέρας ὁ κόλπος. καὶ πορθμοῖν δὲ τοῖν ἄλλοις δυοῖν, ὥνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, οἰκοδομίαις τὰς ἡϊόνας ἐς μέγα τι κάλλος ἐξείρ-

abstained from wine and bread and other foods and ate only herbs, and those, too, wild ones thoroughly pickled with salt and vinegar, and his only drink was water. Yet he never took a sufficiency even of these, but whenever he did take a meal, he merely tasted these foods he liked and then left them before he had eaten enough. Hence, then, his malady gathered strength and got beyond the help of the physicians, and for a long time the Emperor was racked by these pains. But during this time he heard about the relics which had been brought to light, and abandoning human skill, he gave the case over to them, seeking to recover his health through faith in them, and in a moment of direst necessity he won the reward of the true belief. For as soon as the priests laid the reliquary on the Emperor's knee, the ailment disappeared instantly, driven out by the bodies of men who had been dedicated to the service of God. And God did not permit this to be a matter of dispute, for he shewed a great sign of what was being done. For oil suddenly flowed out from these holy relics, and flooding the chest poured out over the Emperor's feet and his whole garment, which was purple. So this tunic, thus saturated, is preserved in the Palace, partly as testimony to what occurred at that time, and also as a source of healing for those who in future are assailed by any incurable disease.

viii. Thus was the bay called the Horn given distinction by the Emperor Justinian. And by erecting buildings he elaborated into a thing of great beauty the shores of the other two straits which I have just mentioned, in the following

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- 2 γασται τρώπῳ τοιῶδε. ἱερὰ δύο τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ
 Μιχαὴλ ἀνειμένα καταντικρὺ ἀλλήλοιν ἐστῶτα
 τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἐκατέρωθι ξυνέβαινεν εἶναι, θάτερον
 μὲν ἐν χώρῳ καλουμένῳ Ἀνάπλῳ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ
 εἰσπλέοντι τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον
 3 ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἀκτῇ. Προόχθους μὲν ἐκάλουν
 οἱ παλαιοὶ ἄνθρωποι τὴν ἀκτὴν, ὅτι δὴ προβέβλη-
 ται, οἶμαι, κατὰ πολὺ τῆς ταύτης ἡϊόνος, νῦν δὲ
 Βρόχοι ἐπικαλεῖται, διαφθειρούσης τὰ ὀνόματα τῆς
 τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀγνοίας τῷ μήκει τοῦ χρόνου.
 4 ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δύο¹ τεμένη οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱερεῖς
 κατερρακωμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου θεώμενοι καὶ
 περίφοβοι γεγεννημένοι ὥς μὴ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα
 σφίσιν ἐμπέσοιεν, βασιλέως ἐδέοντο ἀνοικο-
 δομήσασθαι ἄμφω ἐφ' οὔπερ σχήματος τὸ παλαιὸν
 5 ἦν. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἦν ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος
 ἐκκλησίαν τινὰ ἢ γίνεσθαι πρῶτον, ἢ κατα-
 πεπονηκυῖαν ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, ὅτι μὴ ἐκ χρημάτων
 βασιλικῶν, οὐκ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 6 πανταχόθι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. βασιλεὺς δὲ
 αὐτίκα τῆς προφάσεως τυχὼν τῆσδε καθεῖλε
 μὲν ἐκάτερον ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος,² ὥς μὴ τι αὐτοῖς τῆς
 προτέρας ἀκοσμίας ἀπολειφθῆναι. ἀνωκοδομή-
 σατο δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀνάπλου τρώπῳ
 B 198 7 τοιῶδε. πετρῶν ἐμβολῇ τὴν ἐκείνην ἀκτὴν εἰσω
 περιελίξας ἐς σκέπας λιμένος, τὴν τῆς θαλάττης
 8 ἡϊόνα ἐς μεταμόρφωσιν ἀγορᾶς ἤνεγκεν. ἡσύχιος
 γὰρ ὑπεράγαν ἐνταῦθα ἢ θάλασσα οὔσα τῇ γῇ
 9 ἐπικοινωνοῦται συναλλαγᾷ. ταῖς τε ἀκάτοις οἱ
 τῶν ἐμπόρων θαλάσσιοι παρὰ τὴν ἐμβολὴν τῶν

¹ δύο omitted by A.

² ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος V: ἕως ἐδάφους A.

manner. There happened to be two sanctuaries dedicated to the Archangel Michael, standing opposite one another on either side of the strait, the one at the place called Anaplus,¹ on the left bank as one sails toward the Euxine Sea, the other on the opposite shore. The men of ancient times called this point Proöchthi,² because, I suppose, it projects far out from the shore-line there, but now it is called Brochi,³ for with the passage of time names are corrupted through the ignorance of local residents. And the priests of these two shrines, seeing them utterly dilapidated by time and having become fearful that they would fall in upon them at any moment, petitioned the Emperor to restore both of them to their ancient form. For it was not possible, during the reign of this Emperor, for any church either to be built for the first time or to be restored when it had fallen into disrepair except with imperial funds, not alone in Byzantium, but in every part of the Roman Empire.⁴ So the Emperor no sooner had found this pretext than he at once tore them both down to the foundations, so that none of their previous untidiness was left. He rebuilt the one at Anaplus in the following way. By a stone quay he made the shore-line there curve inward to form a sheltered harbour and he transformed the sea-beach into a market. For the sea at that point is very calm, and makes possible trading with the land. And the sea-traders tie up their skiffs along the

¹ Modern Arnautkeuy, about four miles up the Bosphorus from Byzantium. Procopius has slipped away from the "three straits" of the city.

² Literally, "projecting banks."

³ "Knots," perhaps from the many fishing nets used there.

⁴ Cf. Justinian, *Novellae*, LXVII.

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- 10 πετρῶν ὀρμισάμενοι συμβάλλονται τοῖς ἐγγείοις
 ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρωμάτων τὰ ἐμπολήματα. αὐτὴ
 μετὰ τὴν παραλίαν ἀγορὰν τοῦ νεῶ πρόκειται.
 καὶ μαρμάρους μὲν ὠραίοις τε καὶ χιόσιν¹ ἢ
 11 αὐτὴ τὸ χρῶμα ὁμοιοῖ. οἱ δὲ τοὺς περιπάτους
 τῇδε ποιούμενοι εὐπρεπεῖα μὲν ἡδονται λίθων,
 γεγήθασιν δὲ θαλάσσης ὄψει, ἐναβρύνονται δὲ
 κοιναῖς ταῖς αὖραις ἔκ τε τοῦ ῥοθίου ἐπεγειρο-
 12 μέναις καὶ λόφων ἐπανεστηκότων τῇ γῇ. στοὰ
 τὸν νεῶν περιβάλλει ἐγκύκλιος ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑω
 διαλιποῦσα μόνον. ἐπὶ μέσης τὸ ἱερὸν χρώμασι
 13 μυρίοις πεποίκιλται λίθων. ὄροφος ἐν θόλῳ
 μετάρσιος ὑπερῴρηται. τί ἂν τις διαριθμη-
 σάμενος ἐπαξίως τοῦ ἔργου φράσῃ τὰς ἡωρη-
 μένας στοάς, τὰς ὑπεσταλμένας οἰκοδομίας, τὸ
 τῶν μαρμάρων ἐπίχαρι, οἷς δὴ οἱ τε τοῖχοι καὶ
 14 τὰ ἐδάφη παντάπασιν περιβέβληνται; πρὸς ἐπὶ
 τούτοις δὲ καὶ χρυσοῦ πλήθος ἐξαισίον πανταχόσε
 τοῦ ἱεροῦ καθάπερ αὐτῷ πεφυκὸς περικέχυται.
 15 τοσαῦτα εἰπόντι καὶ τὸ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ
 τέμενός μοι δεδήλωται, ὅπερ αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ἰου-
 τινιανὸς² ἔναγχος ἐν τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ καλουμένῳ
 16 ἀνέθηκεν. ἐμφερέστατα γὰρ ἄμφω ἀλλήλοιν τὰ
 τεμένη τυγχάνει ὄντα, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπι-
 θαλάσσιον τὸ τοῦ Βαπτιστοῦ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι.
 17 Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ Ἀνάπλῳ καλουμένῳ τοῦ
 18 ἀρχαγγέλου ναὸς τῇδε πεπόνηται. κατὰ δὲ
 τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἀκτὴν ὀλίγῳ τῆς θαλάσσης διέχει
 τις χῶρος, ὁμαλὸς μὲν φύσιν, συνθέσει δὲ λίθων
 19 ὕψοῦ ἀνέχων. ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου δε-

¹ χιόσιν Maltretus: κίοσιν V.

² Ἰουστινιανὸς V: οὗτος A.

stone quay and from their decks exchange their merchandise for the products of the land. Behind this shore-market extends the court (*aulê*) in front of the church. In colour this court resembles beautiful marbles and snow. Those who promenade here delight in the beauty of the stones, while they rejoice in the view of the sea and revel alike in the breezes wafted from the water and in those that descend from the hills which tower over the land. A circular (*enkyklios*) stoa surrounds the church and is lacking only on the side towards the east. In the centre stands the church, adorned with stones of an infinite variety of colours. The roof soars aloft in the form of a dome (*tholos*). How could any man do justice to the work in describing the lofty stoas, the secluded buildings within the enclosure, the charm of the marbles with which both walls and pavements are everywhere arranged? In addition to these an extraordinary amount of gold has been applied to every part of the shrine and looks just as if it had grown upon it! This same description can be applied equally well to the shrine of John the Baptist, which the Emperor Justinian recently dedicated to him at Hebdomum,¹ as it is called. For these two shrines happen to resemble each other closely, except that the shrine of the Baptist chances not to be on the sea.

Now the Church of the Archangel in the place called Anaplus was built in this way. And on the opposite bank is a site somewhat removed from the sea, naturally level and raised to a height by courses of stone. There has been built the other shrine of the

¹ Modern Macrikeuy, see p. 55, n. 3.

δημιούργηται τέμενος, εὐπρεπεία μὲν ἐξαίσιον, μεγέθει δὲ πρῶτον, πολυτελεία δὲ ἀνακεῖσθαι μὲν τῷ Μιχαὴλ πρόπον, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ
20 βασιλεῖ. τούτου δὲ δὴ οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τοῦ νεῷ τέμενος ἅγιον τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνεενώσατο τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ καταπεπονηκὸς πολλῷ πρότερον, οὐ δὴ τὸ σεμνὸν μακρὸν ἂν εἶη καὶ διερευνήσασθαι καὶ λόγῳ σημῆναι· ἐκδέχεται δὲ ἡ πάλαι τῆς ἱστορίας προσδοκωμένη μοῖρα.

θ'. Ἐπὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἀξιοθέατα ἐκ παλαιοῦ βασιλεία ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα. ταῦτα βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνατίθεικε¹ τῷ θεῷ ἅπαντα, τὸν ἐνθένδε τῆς εὐσεβείας καρπὸν τῆς παραντίκα
2 παραψυχῆς ἀλλαζάμενος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ὁμιλος ἦν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου γυναικῶν ἐν μαστροπείῳ λελαγνευμένων οὐχ ἐκούσιον, ἀλλὰ βιαίαν τινὰ μισητίαν.
3 τῆς γὰρ πενίας τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι ὑπὸ πορνοβοσκῷ τρεφομέναις αἰεὶ καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἀκολασταίνειν ἐπάναγκες ἦν, ἀνδράσι τε ἀγνώσι καὶ παραπεπτωκόσιν ἐξαπιναίως ἐσποδιούντο συν-
4 δυαζόμεναι. πορνοβοσκῶν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐταιρία πολλή, ἐπ' ἐργαστηρίου τὸ τῆς ἀκολασίας διαχειριζόντων ἐμπόλημα, ἔν τε τῷ δημοσίῳ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὦραν ἀποδιδομένων τὴν
5 ἀλλοτρίαν καὶ δουλαγωγούντων τὸ σῶφρον. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα (τὴν γὰρ εὐσέβειαν ἀλλήλοις ἐπικοινωνέμενοι ἅπαντα
6 ἔπρασσον) ἐπενόουν τάδε. τὴν μὲν πολιτείαν τοῦ τῶν μαστροπείων ἄγους ἐκάθηναν, ἐξελάσαντες τὸ τῶν πορνοβοσκῶν ὄνομα, τῶν δὲ² γυναικῶν

B 200

¹ ἀνατίθεικε V: ἀνέθηκε A.

² δὲ Maltretus: τε.

¹ That is, men's violent lust.

Archangel, a work of extraordinary beauty and unrivalled in size, and because of its magnificence worthy both of Michael, to whom it is dedicated, and of the Emperor Justinian, who dedicated it. Not far from this place he restored in the same way a holy shrine of the Virgin which had fallen into disrepair a long time before, and it would be a long task to study this building and describe in words its majesty. But here follows the long-awaited portion of my narrative.

ix. On this shore there chanced to have been from ancient times a remarkable palace. This the Emperor Justinian has dedicated wholly to God, exchanging immediate enjoyment for the reward of piety thereby obtained, in the following manner. There was a throng of women in Byzantium who had carried on in brothels a business of lechery, not of their own free will, but under force of lust.¹ For it was because of their extreme poverty that they were maintained by brothel-keepers, and inmates of such houses were obliged at any and all times to practise lewdness, and pairing off at a moment's notice with strange men as they chanced to come along, they submitted to their embraces. For there had been a numerous body of procurers in the city from ancient times, conducting their traffic in licentiousness in brothels and selling others' youth in the public market-place and forcing virtuous persons into slavery. But the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora, who always shared a common piety in all that they did, devised the following plan. They cleansed the state of the pollution of the brothels, banishing the very name of brothel-keepers, and they set free from a licentiousness fit only for

- P 22 τὰς πενία ταλαιπωρουμένας πολλῇ ἀκολασίας
τῆς δουλοπρεποῦς ἡλευθέρωσαν, βίοτον μὲν σφίσιν
αὐτόνομον, ἐλευθέραν¹ δὲ τὴν σωφροσύνην
πεπορισμένοι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διωκῆσαντο τῇδε.
7 παρὰ ταύτην δὴ² τοῦ πορθμοῦ τὴν ἀκτὴν³ ἣ
ἔστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέοντι τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλού-
μενον Πόντον, βασιλεία πρότερον ὄντα μοναστή-
ριον μεγαλοπρεπὲς κατεστήσαντο καταγώγιον
ταῖς μεταμελουμέναις γυναιξίν ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ
8 βίῳ ἐσόμενον· ἐφ' ᾧ τῇ ἐνταῦθα περί τε τὸν
θεὸν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀσχολία γενησομένη
περικαθῆραι τὰς ἀμαρτάδας δυναταὶ εἶεν τῆς ἐν
9 μαστροπείῳ διαίτης. διὸ δὴ καὶ Μετάνοιαν τοῦτο
δὴ τῶν γυναικῶν τὸ διαιτητήριον ὁμωνύμως τῷ
10 ἔργῳ ἐπονομάζουσι. καὶ πολλαῖς μὲν χρημάτων
προσόδοις οἱ βασιλεῖς οὗτοι τὸ μοναστήριον
δεδώρηνται τοῦτο, πολλὰ δὲ οἰκία κάλλει τε καὶ
πολυτελείᾳ διαφερόντως ἐξαΐσια, ταῖς γυναιξὶ
παραψυχὴν ἐσόμενα,⁴ ὠκοδομήσαντο, ὥς μηδενὶ
ἀναγκασθεῖσαι πρὸς τὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐπιτη-
δεύματα τρόπῳ ὀτρωοῦν ἀποκνήσουσι. ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν τῇδέ πη ἔχει.
11 Ἐς δὲ τὸν Εὐξείνιον Πόντον ἐνθένδε ἰόντι
ἄκρα τις ἀπορρώξ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ πορθμοῦ προ-
βέβληται ἡϊόνα, ἐφ' ἧς μαρτύριον Παντελεήμονος
ἀγίου εἰστήκει, ἀρχὴν τε ἀπημελημένως πεποιη-
μένον καὶ χρόνῳ μακρῷ πεπονηκὸς ἄγαν· ὅπερ
ἐνθένδε περιελὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, τοῦτόν
τε μεγαλοπρεπῶς τὰ μάλιστα οἰκοδομησάμενος

¹ ἐλευθέραν Haury: ἐλευθερίαν. Hoeschel proposed δόντες, ἐλευθέραν.

² δὴ Dewing: δέ.

slaves the women who were struggling with extreme poverty, providing them with independent maintenance, and setting virtue free. This they accomplished as follows. Near that shore of the strait which is on the right as one sails toward the Sea called Euxine, they made what had formerly been a palace into an imposing convent designed to serve as a refuge for women who repented of their past lives, so that there through the occupation which their minds would have with the worship of God and with religion they might be able to cleanse away the sins of their lives in the brothel. Therefore they call this domicile of such women "Repentance," in keeping with its purpose. And these Sovereigns have endowed this convent with an ample income of money, and have added many buildings most remarkable for their beauty and costliness, to serve as a consolation for the women, so that they should never be compelled to depart from the practice of virtue in any manner whatsoever. So much, then, for this.¹

As one goes on from there toward the Euxine Sea, a certain sheer promontory is thrust out along the shore-line of the strait, on which stands a martyr's shrine of St. Panteleëmon, which had been carelessly built to begin with and had suffered greatly from the long passage of time; this the Emperor Justinian removed completely from the spot and in its place built in a very magnificent manner the church which now

¹ The reader should compare the very different account of this foundation given by Procopius in the *Secret History*, xvii. 5, 6.

³ παρὰ . . . ἀκτὴν V: ἐπὶ ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀκτῆς A.

⁴ ἐσόμενα I: ἐσομένην VA.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τὸν ἐκείνη τανῦν ὄντα νεών, τῷ τε μάρτυρι
 διεσώσατο τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τῷ πορθμῷ κάλλος
 ἐντέθεικεν, ἐκατέρωθι τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα πηξάμενος.

- 12 τούτου δὲ τοῦ τεμένους ἐπίπροσθεν ἐν χώρῳ τῷ
 B 201 καλουμένῳ Ἀργυρωνίῳ πτωχῶν ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ
 καταγώγιον οἷσπερ ἡ νόσος τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἐλωβή-
 13 σατο. ὅπερ τῷ χρόνῳ διερρωγὸς ἤδη τὰ
 ἔσχατα προθυμῶς τῇ πάσῃ ἀνενεώσατο, γενησό-
 μενον τοῖς οὕτω τάλαιπωρουμένοις ἀνάπαυλαν.
 ἀκτὴ δὲ τίς ἐστι Μωχάδιον ὄνομα τοῦ χώρου
 14 ἐγγὺς ὃ καὶ νῦν Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζεται. ἐνταῦθα
 νεών τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ ἄλλον ἐδείματο ἱεροπρεπῇ
 τε διαφερόντως, καὶ τῶν τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου ἱερῶν
 ὧνπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, οὐδενὸς ἀξιώματι
 ἀποδέοντα.

- 15 Καὶ Τρύφωνι δὲ ἀνέθηκεν ἱερὸν μάρτυρι, πόνῳ
 τε καὶ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἐς κάλλος ἀποτετορνευμένον
 ἀμύθητον ὅλως, ἐν τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγυῖᾳ ἢ τοῦ
 16 Πελαργοῦ ἐπώνυμός ἐστιν. ἔτι δὲ Μηνᾶ καὶ
 Μηναίῳ μάρτυσιν ἕδος ἐν τῷ Ἑβδόμῳ ἀνέθηκεν.
 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ εἰσιόντι ἐς τὰς Χρυσᾶς καλουμένας
 Πύλας Ἱᾶς ἀγίας μαρτύριον εὐρὼν κατα-
 17 πέπτωκός,¹ πολυτελείᾳ τῇ πάσῃ ἀνενεώσατο. τὰ
 μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἱεροῖς εἰργασμένα
 Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τοιαῦτά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ἀνὰ
 πᾶσαν διαπεπονημένα τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ἕκαστα
 διαριθμεῖσθαι χαλεπὸν τέ ἐστι καὶ λόγῳ παντελῶς
 18 ἄπορον. ἀλλ' ἥνικα ἡμῖν δεήσει πόλεως ἢ χωρίου

¹ καταπεπτωκός V: καταπεπονηκός A.

¹ See above, Chap. iii. 10, and the description of Hieron in *Wars*, III. i. 8 and *Secret History*, xv. 36.

stands on this site, and he thus preserved to the martyr his honour and at the same time added beauty to the strait by setting these shrines on either side of it. Beyond this shrine, in the place called Argyronium, there had been from ancient times a refuge for poor persons who were afflicted with incurable diseases. This, with the passage of time, had already fallen into a state of extreme disrepair, but he restored it with all enthusiasm, so that it should provide a lodging for those who suffered in this way. And there is a certain promontory named Mochadium near the place which is now called Hieron.¹ There he built another church to the Archangel, one of peculiar sanctity and inferior in esteem to none of the shrines of the Archangel which I have just mentioned.

He also dedicated a shrine to the martyr Tryphon which was finely built at a great cost of labour and of time so that it became an object of altogether indescribable beauty, in a street of the city which is named Pelargus.² Furthermore he dedicated a shrine to the martyrs Menas and Menaëus in the Hebdomum.³ And on the left as one enters the gate which is known as the Golden Gate, this Emperor found a martyr's shrine of St. Ia, fallen in ruins, which he restored with all sumptuousness. Such were the labours accomplished by the Emperor Justinian in connection with the holy places in Byzantium; but to enumerate all the sacred edifices which he built through the length and breadth of the whole Roman Empire is a difficult, nay, an altogether impossible task. However, when it becomes necessary for us to mention any city or

² "Stork."

³ Modern Macrikeuy.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

του πρὸς ὄνομα ἐπιμνησθῆναι, καὶ τὰ ἐνταῦθα
 ἱερὰ ἐν ἐπιτηδεΐῳ γεγράφεται.

P 23

ι'. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐν τε Κωνσταν-
 τινουπόλει καὶ τοῖς τῇδε προαστείοις οὕτως
 2 Ἰουστινιανῷ δεδημιούργηται βασιλεῖ· τῶν δὲ
 δὴ ἄλλων αὐτῷ οἰκοδομημάτων πεποιημένων
 ἕκαστον μὲν ἐπελθεῖν οὐ ῥάδιον λόγῳ, ὥς ἐν
 κεφαλαίῳ δὲ φράσαι, τά τε πλεῖστα καὶ ἀξιολογώ-
 τατα τῆς τε ἄλλης πόλεως καὶ τῶν βασιλείων
 καταφλεχθέντα τε καὶ καθηρημένα ἐπ' ἔδαφος
 ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἅπαντα ἐπὶ τὸ εὐπρεπέστερον
 μετεστήσατο· ἅπερ μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι λεπτο-

B 202

3 λογεῖσθαι οὔτι ἀναγκαῖον ἔδοξεν εἶναι· ἅπαντα
 γάρ μοι ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων
 δεδήλωται λόγοις. τοσοῦτον δὲ μόνον ἐν γε
 τῷ παρόντι γεγράφεται, ὥς τῶν βασιλείων τά
 τε προπύλαια καὶ ἡ καλουμένη Χαλκὴ μέχρι
 ἐς τὸν Ἄρεως¹ καλούμενον οἶκον, ἕκ τε τῶν
 βασιλείων τό τε βαλανεῖον ὃ Ζεύξιππος αἶ τε
 μεγάλαι στοαὶ καὶ τὰ ἐκατέρωθεν ἐξῆς ἅπαντα
 μέχρι ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἢ Κωνσταντίνου ἐπώνυμός
 ἐστι, τούτου δὴ ἔργα τοῦ βασιλέως τυγχάνει
 4 ὄντα. πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ τὴν Ὀρμίσδα ἐπώ-
 νυμον οἰκίαν, ἄγχιστα οὔσαν τῶν βασιλείων,
 παραλλάξας τε καὶ ὅλως ἐς τὸ ἐπιφανέστερον
 μεθαρμοσάμενος, ὥς τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐπιεικῶς
 πρέπειν, τῷ Παλατίῳ ἐντέθεικεν, εὐρύτερόν τε
 αὐτὸ καὶ πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀξιώτερον ταύτῃ
 ἐξείργασται.

5 Ἔστι δέ τις ἀγορὰ πρὸ τῶν βασιλείων περί-

¹ Ἄρεως Haury, cf. Wars I. xxiv. 9: Ἄρεος Maltretus, ἀρέας V, ἀραιᾶς A.

district by name, the sanctuaries in that place shall be recorded at the proper point.

x. So the churches, both in the city of Constantinople and in its suburbs, were built as stated by the Emperor Justinian; but it is not easy to recount in my narrative each one of the other buildings erected by him. But to speak comprehensively, the majority of the buildings and the most noteworthy structures of the rest of the city, and particularly of the Palace area, had been burned and razed to the ground when he undertook to rebuild them and to restore them all in more beautiful form. Yet it has seemed to me not at all necessary at the present time to recount these in detail, for they have all been described with care in my Books on the Wars. At this point, only this shall be set down, that this Emperor's work includes the propylaea (*propylaia*) of the Palace and the so-called Bronze Gate¹ as far as what is called the House of Ares, and beyond the Palace both the Baths of Zeuxippus and the great colonnaded stoas and indeed everything on either side of them as far as the market-place which bears the name of Constantine. And besides these he remodeled the building known as the House of Hormisdas, which is close by the Palace, so altering and transforming it altogether into a more noble structure as to be really in keeping with the royal residence, to which he joined it, making it greater in width and consequently much more admirable.²

And there is before the Palace a certain market-

¹ See n. 1, p. 85.

² See above, Chap. iv. 2.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- στυλος. Αὐγουσταῖον καλοῦσι τὴν ἀγορὰν οἱ
 Βυζάντιοι. ταύτης ἐν λόγοις ἐπεμνήσθην τοῖς
 ἔμπροσθεν, ἡνίκα τῆς Σοφίας περιηγησάμενος
 τὸν νεῶν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ χαλκῇν εἰκόνα τῷ
 βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ κίονος ὑψηλοτάτου καὶ λίθοις συν-
 6 θέτου ἀνατεθείσαν δεδήλωκα. ταύτης ἐς τὰ
 πρὸς ἔω τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ Βουλευτήριον ἰδρυται,
 λόγου μὲν τῇ τε πολυτελείᾳ καὶ τῇ κατασκευῇ
 τῇ πάσῃ κρεῖττον, Ἰουστινιανοῦ δὲ βασιλέως
 7 ἔργον. ἔνθα δὴ ξυνιοῦσα ἔτους ἀρχομένου ἡ
 Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ σύγκλητος ἐνιαύσιον ἑορτὴν
 ἄγει, τὰ τῆς πολιτείας ὀργιάζουσα ἐς αἰὲ νόμιμα.
 8 ἔξ δὲ αὐτοῦ κίονες ἐπίπροσθεν ἐστᾶσιν, οἱ μὲν
 δύο τὸν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου τοῖχον ἐν μέσῳ ἔχοντες
 ὡς πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται, οἱ δὲ τέσσαρες
 B 203 ὀλίγῳ ἐκτός, τὸ μὲν εἶδος λευκοὶ ἅπαντες, μέ-
 γεθος δὲ πρῶτοι τῶν ἐν γῇ, οἶμαι, κίωνων τῇ
 9 πάσῃ. στοὰν δὲ ποιοῦσιν οἱ κίονες ὄροφον ἐν
 θόλῳ ἐλίττουσαν, τὰ δὲ ἄνω τῆς στοᾶς ἅπαντα
 μαρμάρων μὲν κάλλει διακεκόσμηται τοῖς κίοσι
 τὸ εἶδος ἴσων, ἀγαλμάτων δὲ πλήθει ὑπεράνω
 ἐστώτων θαυμασίως ὡς ὑπογέγραπται.
 10 Ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀγορᾶς οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τὰ
 βασιλέως οἰκία ἐστί, καὶ νέα μὲν τὰ βασιλεία
 σχεδόν τι πάντα, Ἰουστινιανῷ δέ, ἥπέρ μοι
 εἴρηται, δεδημιούργηται βασιλεῖ, φράσαι δὲ αὐτὰ
 λόγῳ ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσει μὲν τοὺς
 γενησομένους εἰδέναι ὅτι δὴ ἅπαντα τούτου δὴ

¹ Cf. Chap. ii. 1.

² The description, while not clear, seems to imply a structure tetrastyle, prostyle, with one column on the return at each

place surrounded by columns (*peristylos*), which the people of Byzantium call the Augustaeum. This I have mentioned previously¹ when in the account of the Church of Sophia I described the bronze statue of the Emperor commemorating the work, set upon a very tall column made of fitted blocks. To the east of this market-place stands the Senate House, surpassing description by reason of its costliness and every element of its construction, the work of the Emperor Justinian. There the Senate of the Romans assembles at the beginning of the year and celebrates an annual festival, observing always the ancient tradition of the State. Six of its columns stand in front of it, two of which have between them the wall of the Senate House which faces the west, while the four others stand a little beyond it; all of them are white in colour, and in size, I believe, they are the largest of all columns in the whole world. And the columns form a porch (*stoa*) which carries a roof curving into a vault (*tholos*), and the whole upper portion of the colonnade is adorned with marbles which rival the columns in their beauty, and the roof is wonderfully set off by a great number of statues which stand upon it.²

Not far from this market-place is the residence of the Emperor, and practically the whole Palace is new, and, as I have said, was built by the Emperor Justinian; but it is impossible to describe it in words and it must suffice for future generations to know

side and the doorway between the two rear columns. The ambiguity of the word *tholos*, which may mean either a dome or a vault, makes it impossible to determine from this passage whether there was a dome over the porch or a tunnel vault extending back from the central intercolumniation.

- P 24 11 ἔργον τοῦ βασιλέως τυγχάνει ὄντα. ὥσπερ δέ
 φασι, τὸν λέοντα ἐξ ὄνυχος ἴσμεν, καὶ τούτων
 δὴ οὕτω τῶν βασιλείων τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τοῦ
 προτεμενίσματος οἱ τάδε ἀναλεγόμενοι εἴσονται.
 τοιοῦτον δὲ τὸ προτεμενισμόν ἐστιν ὃ καλοῦσι
 12 Χαλκῆν. ὄρθιοι τοῖχοι οὐρανομήκεις ἐν τετραγώ-
 νῳ ἐστᾶσι τέσσαρες, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἰσοστάσιοι
 ἀλλήλοις ὄντες, μήκει δὲ ἄμφω, ὃ τε πρὸς μεσημ-
 βρίαν τετραμμένος καὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, τῶν
 13 ἐτέρων οὐ παρὰ πολὺ ἀποδέοντες. προβέβληται
 δέ τις ἀμφὶ τὴν γωνίαν αὐτῶν ἐκάστου λίθων
 εὖ μάλα εἰργασμένων ἀνάστασις, τῷ τοίχῳ ἐς
 τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἐξ ἐδάφους συναναβαίνουσα, τετρά-
 πλευρος μὲν, ἐνημμένη δὲ κατὰ τὴν μίαν τῷ
 τοίχῳ πλευράν, οὐ διακόπτουσα τοῦ χώρου τὸ
 κάλλος, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ κόσμου¹ αὐτῷ ἐντιθεῖσα
 14 τῇ τοῦ ἐμφεροῦς ἀρμονίᾳ. ὑπερῴρηνται δὲ
 αὐτῶν ἀψίδες ὀκτώ, τέσσαρες μὲν ἀνέχουσιν τὸν
 ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παντὸς ὄροφον ἐν σφαιροειδεῖ
 μεταρσίῳ ἐπικυρτούμενον, αἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλαι δύο
 μὲν πρὸς νότον, δύο δὲ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον τῷ
 B 204 γειτνιώντι ἐναπερειδόμεναι τοίχῳ, τὸ μεταξὺ
 15 τέγος ἐν θόλῳ ἡωρημένον ἐξαίρουσιν. ἐναβρύνε-
 ται δὲ ταῖς γραφαῖς ἡ ὀροφὴ πᾶσα, οὐ τῷ
 κηρῷ ἐντακέντι τε καὶ διαχυθέντι ἐνταῦθα
 παγεῖσα, ἀλλ' ἐναρμοσθεῖσα ψηφίσι λεπταῖς τε
 καὶ χρώμασιν ὠραῖσμέναις παντοδαποῖς· αἱ
 δὴ τά τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀπομιμοῦνται.
 16 ὅποια δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ γράμματά ἐστιν ἐγὼ δηλώσω.

¹ κόσμου A: κόσμον V.

¹ Cf. Libanius, *Orat.* XI. 232.

that it happens to be entirely the work of this Emperor. We know the lion, as they say, by his claw, and so those who read this will know the impressiveness of the Palace from the vestibule (*protemenisma*).¹ So this entrance, which they call Chalkê,² is of the following sort. Four straight walls stand in a quadrangle (*tetragonos*) rising heaven-high, equal to each other in all respects except that those which face south and north, respectively, are both slightly shorter than the others. At each corner there projects a sort of structure (*anastasis*) of very carefully worked stones, ascending with the wall from the ground to its very top, having four sides, to be sure, but joined to the wall on one side, not detracting from the beauty of the structure, but actually adding a sort of grace to it by the harmony of the similar proportions. Above them rise eight arches, four of which support the roof which curves over the centre of the whole structure in the form of a suspended dome (*sphairoeidês*), while the others, two toward the south and two toward the north, rest upon the adjoining walls and lift on high the vaulted (*tholos*) roof which is balanced between them.³ And the whole ceiling boasts of its pictures, not having been fixed with wax melted and applied to the surface,⁴ but set with tiny cubes of stone beautifully coloured in all hues, which represent human figures and all other kinds of subjects. The subjects of these pictures I will now describe. On either side

² The Bronze (Gate); mentioned also in *Wars*, I. xxiv. 47.

³ Presumably this structure had four impost piers at the walls on the interior near the corners. These piers carried transverse and longitudinal arches which formed an interior cruciform plan, supporting a dome over the centre.

⁴ I.e. by the encaustic method of painting.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἐφ' ἑκάτερα μὲν πόλεμός τέ ἐστι καὶ μάχη,
καὶ ἀλίσκονται πόλεις παμπληθεῖς, πῇ μὲν Ἰταλίας,
πῇ δὲ Λιβύης· καὶ νικᾷ μὲν βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς
ὑπὸ στρατηγούντι Βελισαρίῳ, ἐπάνεισι δὲ παρὰ ¹
τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ στράτευμα ἔχων ἀκραιφνὲς ὅλον ὁ
στρατηγός, καὶ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ λάφυρα βασιλεῖς τε
καὶ βασιλείας, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐξαίσια.
- 17 κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον ἐστᾶσιν ὁ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ ἡ
βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα, ἐοικότες ἄμφω γεγηθόσι τε καὶ
νικητήρια ἐορτάζουσιν ἐπὶ τε τῷ ² Βανδίλῳ καὶ
Γότθῳ βασιλεῖ, ³ δορυαλώτοις τε καὶ ἀγωγί-
18 μοις παρ' αὐτοὺς ἤκουσι. περιέστηκε δὲ αὐτοὺς
ἡ Ῥωμαίων βουλὴ σύγκλητος, ἐορτασθαὶ πάντες.
τοῦτο γὰρ αἱ ψηφίδες δηλοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς προσώ-
19 ποις ἰλαρὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπανθούσαι. γαυροῦνται οὖν
καὶ μειδιῶσι τῷ βασιλεῖ νέμοντες ἐπὶ τῷ ὄγκῳ
τῶν πεπραγμένων ἰσοθέους τιμάς· ἡμφίασται δὲ
μαρμάρων εὐπρεπεία τὰ ἐντὸς ἅπαντα μέχρι ἐς
τὰς ὑπεράνω ψηφίδας, οὐχ ὅσα ἐπανέστηκε
20 μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐφεξῆς ὅλον. τῶν δὲ
μαρμάρων ἓν μὲν λίθου Σπαρτιάτου ἐκεῖ
σμαράγδῳ ἴσα, ἓν δὲ πυρὸς φλόγα μιμοῦνται·
λευκὸν δὲ τῶν πλειόνων τὸ εἶδος, οὐ λιτὸν μέντοι,
ἀλλ' ὑποκυμαίνει κυανανγεί ὑπογεγραμμένον
μεταξὺ χρώματι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πῇ ἔχει.
- B 205 ια'. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Προποντιίδος ἐσπλέοντι ἐς
P 25 τὰ πρὸς ἑω τῆς πόλεως, βαλανεῖον ἐν ἀριστερᾷ
ἐν δημοσίῳ ἐστίν. ὅπερ Ἀρκαδιανὰ μὲν ἐπι-
καλεῖται, Κωνσταντινούπολιν δὲ πηλίκην οὖσαν
2 ἐπικοσμεῖ. αὐτὴν ἐνταῦθα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος

¹ παρὰ A: περὶ V.

² τῷ V: τῶν A.

³ βασιλεῖ: βασιλεῦσι Maltretus.

is war and battle, and many cities are being captured, some in Italy, some in Libya; and the Emperor Justinian is winning victories through his General Belisarius, and the General is returning to the Emperor, with his whole army intact, and he gives him spoils, both kings and kingdoms and all things that are most prized among men. In the centre stand the Emperor and the Empress Theodora, both seeming to rejoice and to celebrate victories over both the King of the Vandals and the King of the Goths, who approach them as prisoners of war to be led into bondage. Around them stands the Roman Senate, all in festal mood. This spirit is expressed by the cubes of the mosaic, which by their colours depict exultation on their very countenances. So they rejoice and smile as they bestow on the Emperor honours equal to those of God, because of the magnitude of his achievements. And the whole interior of the building, as far as the mosaics above, is clothed with handsome marbles, not only the upright surfaces, but the whole of the pavement as well. Some of these marbles are of Spartan stone¹ which rivals the emerald, while some simulate the flame of fire; but the most of them are white in colour, yet the white is not plain, but is set off with wavy lines of blue which mingle with the white. So much, then, for this.

xi. As one sails from the Propontis² up toward the eastern side of the city, there is on the left a public bath. This is called Arcadianae, and it is an ornament to Constantinople, large as the city is. There this Emperor built a court (*aulé*) which lies

¹ Verd antique.

² Modern Sea of Marmara.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἐδείματο, τῆς μὲν πόλεως προβεβλημένην, καὶ
 τοῖς μὲν ἐκείνῃ διατριβὴν ἔχουσιν ἐς περιπάτους
 αἰεὶ ἀνειμένην, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἐνορμίσασθαι τοῖς περι-
 3 πλέουσι. ταύτην ἡλῖος καταλάμπει μὲν ἀνίσχων
 τῇ αἴγλῃ, ἐκτρεπόμενος δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐσ-
 πέραν ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω ἐπισκιάζει. ταύτην ἡ
 θάλασσα περιρρεῖ ἀτρεμῆς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ περιχεο-
 μένη τῷ ῥείθρῳ, ποταμοῦ τρόπον ἐκ Πόντου
 ἰοῦσα· ὥστε καὶ προσδιαλέγονται τοῖς περι-
 4 πλέουσιν οἱ τοὺς περιπάτους ποιούμενοι. ἡ γὰρ
 θάλασσα κατατείνουσα μὲν ἐς ἄβυσσον μέχρι ἐς
 τῆς αὐλῆς τὴν κρηπίδα πλώϊμος ἐνταῦθα ταῖς
 ναυσὶ γίνεται, τῆς δὲ γαλήνης τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι
 τοῖς ἐκατέρωθι ὄντας ἐπιμίγνυσιν ἐς τοὺς δια-
 5 λόγους ἀλλήλοις. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τῆς θαλάσ-
 σης τὸ γειτόνημα τῇ αὐλῇ τῇδὲ πῃ ἔχει, καλ-
 λωπιζομένη μὲν τῇ ἐς αὐτὴν ὄψει, περιπνεο-
 μένη δὲ ἀπαλαῖς οὔσαις ταῖς ἀπ' αὐτῆς αὔραις.
 6 καὶ κιόνων δὲ καὶ μαρμάρων κάλλει ὑπερφυεῖ
 τά τε αὐτῆς ἐδάφη καὶ τὰ ὑπερθεν καλύπτεται
 πάντα· ὣν ἡ αἴγλη ὑπεράγαυον λευκὴ τίς ἐστι,
 ταῖς τοῦ ἡλίου αὐγαῖς ἐπικεικῶς ἀπαστράπτουσα.
 7 καὶ μὴν καὶ εἰκόνες αὐτὴν κοσμοῦσι παμπλη-
 θεῖς, αἱ μὲν χαλκαῖ, αἱ δὲ τῷ λίθῳ ἐπιξυσθεῖσαι,
 θέαμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. εἰκάσαις ἂν ἡ
 Φειδίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἢ τοῦ Σικωνίου Λυσίπ-
 που ἔργον ἢ Πραξιτέλους αὐτὰς γεγονέναι.
 8 ἐνταῦθα καὶ Θεοδώρα ἡ βασιλὶς ἐπὶ κίονος
 ἕστηκε.¹ τοῦτο γὰρ ἀνατέθεικεν ἡ πόλις αὐτῇ
 B 206 9 ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐλῆς χαριστήριον. καὶ ἡ μὲν εἰκὼν
 εὐπρόσωπος, ἀλλὰ τῆς βασιλίδος τῷ κάλλει²
 ἐλάσσων, ἐπεὶ αὐτῆς τὴν εὐπρέπειαν λόγῳ τε

outside the city, and it is always open to those who tarry there for promenades and to those who anchor there as they are sailing by. This is flooded with light when the sun rises, and when it passes on toward the west it is pleasantly shaded. And the unruffled sea flows quietly about this court, encircling it with its stream, coming in from the Pontus like a river, so that those who are promenading can actually converse with those who are sailing by. For the sea preserves its depth even though it reaches up to the very foundations of the court and so is navigable there for ships, and by reason of the deep calm which prevails it brings together those on land and those on the sea so that they can converse with each other. Such, then, is the side of the court which borders on the sea, adorned by the view over it, and breathed upon by the gentle breezes which come from it. Columns and marbles of surpassing beauty cover the whole of it, both the pavement and the parts above. And from these gleams an intensely brilliant white light as the rays of the sun are flashed back almost undimmed. Nay more, it is adorned with great numbers of statues, some of bronze, some of polished stone, a sight worthy of a long description. One might surmise that they were the work of Pheidias the Athenian, or of the Sicyonian Lysippus or of Praxiteles. There also the Empress Theodora stands upon a column, which the city in gratitude for the court dedicated to her. The statue is indeed beautiful, but still inferior to the beauty of the Empress; for to express her loveliness in words or to portray it

¹ ἔστηκε V : ὑψηλοῦ ἵσταται A.

² τῷ κάλλει : τὸ κάλλος Maltretus.

φράσαι καὶ ἰνδάλματι ἀπομιμῆσθαι ἀνθρώπων
γε ὄντι παντάπασιν ἀμήχανα ἦν· ἀλουργὸς δὲ
ὁ κίων καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἐκτυπώματος ὅτι δὴ βασιλίδα
φέρει διαφανῶς ἐνδεικνύμενος.

- 10 "Ὅπερ δὲ ὕδατος εὐπορίας πέρι ἐνταῦθα δια-
πεπύνηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ αὐτίκα δηλώσω.
θέρους ὥρᾳ ἢ βασιλὶς πόλις ὕδατος ὑπεσπάνιζεν
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καίπερ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους
11 καιροὺς διαρκὲς ἔχουσα. τοῦ γὰρ καιροῦ τηνι-
κάδε αὐχμοὺς ἔχοντος ἐλασσόνως ἢ κατὰ τὰς
ἄλλας ὥρας αἱ πηγαὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀποβλυστάνουσαι
καταδεεστέραν παρείχοντο τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν τῇ
12 πόλει. διὸ δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπενόει τοιάδε. κατὰ
τὴν βασιλέως στοάν, ἵνα δὴ τὰς δίκας παρασκευάζ-
ονται οἱ τε ῥήτορες καὶ εἰσαγωγεῖς καὶ εἴ τινες
ἄλλοι τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἐπιμελοῦνται, αὐλή τις
ἔστιν ὑπερμεγέθης, περιμήκης μὲν καὶ εὖρους
ἱκανῶς ἔχουσα, ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ δὲ περίστυλος
οὖσα,¹ οὐκ ἐπὶ γεώδους ἐδάφους τοῖς αὐτὴν
13 δειμαμένοις,² ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πέτρας πεποιημένη. στοαί
τε τὴν αὐλήν περιβάλλουσι τέσσαρες, κατὰ
πλευρὰν ἐκάστην ἐστῶσαι. ταύτην τε οὖν καὶ
τῶν στοῶν μίαν, ἥπερ αὐτῆς τέτραπται πρὸς
ἄνεμον νότον, ἐς βάθους μέγα τι χρήμα κατ-
ορύξας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἀποβαλλομένοις τῇ
περιουσίᾳ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας ὥρας τοῖς ὕδασι
14 ἐς θέρος ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ θησαυρὸν ἔθετο. δεχό-
μενα γὰρ τὰ ἔλυντρα τάδε τοῦ ὀχετοῦ τὴν ἐπιρ-

¹ οὖσα Maltretus for ὅσα.

² δειμαμένοις Maltretus for δημαμένοις.

¹ Mentioned also in the *Secret History*, xiv. 13 (see the note there). The cistern which Justinian dug under a part of the

BUILDINGS I. xi. 9-14

in a statue would be, for a mere human being, altogether impossible. The column is purple, and it clearly declares even before one sees the statue that it bears an Empress.

I shall now describe the labours which were carried out here by this Emperor to ensure an abundant water-supply. In the summer season the imperial city used to suffer from scarcity of water as a general thing, though at the other seasons it enjoyed a sufficiency. Because that period always brings droughts, the springs, running less freely than at the other seasons, used to deliver through the conduits a less abundant flow of water to the city. Wherefore the Emperor devised the following plan. At the Imperial Portico,¹ where the lawyers and prosecutors prepare their cases, as well as all others who are concerned with such matters, there is a certain very large court (*aulé*), very long, and broad in proportion, surrounded by columns (*peristylos*) on the four sides (*tetrapleuron*), not set upon a foundation of earth by those who constructed it, but built upon living rock. Four colonnaded stoas surround the court, standing one on each side. Excavating to a great depth this court and one of the stoas (that which faces toward the south), the Emperor Justinian made a suitable storage reservoir for the summer season, to contain the water which had been wasted because of its very abundance during the other seasons. For receiving this overflow of the aqueduct

building is probably the one now called Yeri Batan Serai, a short distance west of the Church of St. Sophia. Cf. also Downey, "The Architectural Significance of the Use of the Words *Stoa* and *Basiliké* in Classical Literature," *American Journal of Archaeology*, xli, 1937, pp. 204 f.

- ροὴν ὑπερβλύζοντος στενοχωρουμένοις μὲν τοῖς
 ὕδασι τότε χαρίζεται χώραν, ποθεινῶν δὲ αὐτῶν
 γινομένων ἐπὶ καιροῦ τοῖς δεομένοις παρέχεται
 B 207 15 πόρον. οὕτω μὲν μὴ προσδεῖν Βυζαντίοις ποτί-
 μων ὑδάτων βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς διεπράξατο.
- 16 Καὶ βασιλεία δὲ ἀλλαχόθι δεδημιούργηκεν
 αὐτὸς καινουργήσας ἔν τε τῷ Ἑρραίῳ, ὃ νῦν
 Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ Ἰουκουνδιάναις ταῖς κα-
 λουμέναις. ὧν δὴ οὔτε τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς σὺν
 τῷ ἐς τέχνην ἡκριβωμένῳ, οὔτε τὸν ὄγκον ἂν
 σὺν τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ λόγῳ φράσαι ποτὲ ἱκανῶς
 17 ἔχοιμι. ἀλλ' ἀποχρήσει ταῦτα εἰπεῖν βασιλείᾳ
 τε εἶναι καὶ πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ γεγονέναι παρόντος
 τε καὶ ἐπιτεχνωμένου, καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀπεριόπτου,
 ὅτι μὴ χρημάτων, καθισταμένου. ταῦτα γὰρ
 οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστι μὴ καὶ λόγου κρατεῖν.
- 18 Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ λιμένων¹ σκέπας ἀποτετόρ-
 νευται οὐ πρότερον ὄν. ἀκτὴν γὰρ εὐρῶν
 ἐκατέρωθι τοῖς τε ἀνέμοις καὶ ταραχῇ τοῦ
 ῥοθίου² ἀποκειμένην, σωτήριον εἶναι τοῖς πλέουσι
 19 κατεστήσατο ὧδε. τὰς κιβωτοὺς καλουμένας
 ἀναρίθμους τε καὶ παμμεγέθεις πεποιημένους,
 ἀμφοτέρωθεν τε αὐτὰς τῆς ἡϊόνος ἐπὶ πλείστον
 ἐγκαρσίας ἀπορριψάμενος, αἰεὶ τε τῶν προτέρων
 καθύπερθεν ἐτέρων ἐν τάξει ἐπιβολὴν³ ἐντιθέ-
 μενος, τοίχους πλαγίους ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἀλλήλων
 ἀνέστησε δύο ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀβύσσου κρηπιδων
 μέχρι ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ᾧ δὴ αἱ νέες ἐναπεριδόμεναι

¹ λιμένων V: om. A.

² ταραχῇ τοῦ ῥοθίου V: τῷ ῥοθίῳ A.

³ ἐπιβολὴν V: ὑπερβολὴν A.

when its stream is spilling over, this cistern both furnishes a place for the water which for the moment can find no space, and provides a supply for those who need it when water becomes scarce. Thus the Emperor Justinian made provision that the people of Byzantium should not be in want of fresh water.

He has also built palaces at various places, completely new ones, one at the Heraeum, which they now call Hieron, and another at the place called Jucundianae.¹ But I could never adequately describe in fitting words either their magnificence and their exquisitely detailed workmanship or their massive bulk. It will be sufficient to say simply that they are regal and that they were built under the personal supervision of the Emperor and with the help of his skill, while nothing was disregarded, excepting only money. The sum of this indeed was so great that it cannot be computed by any reckoning.

There too he skilfully contrived a sheltered harbour which had not existed before. Finding a shore which lay open to the winds from two directions and to the beating of the waves, he converted it into a refuge for voyagers in the following way. He prepared great numbers of what are called "chests" or cribs, of huge size, and threw them out for a great distance from the shore along oblique lines on either side of the harbour, and by constantly setting a layer of other chests in regular courses upon those underneath he erected two very long walls,² which lay at an angle to each other on the opposite sides of the harbour, rising from their foundations deep in the water up to

¹ Both on the Bosphorus; cf. *supra*, p. 41.

² i.e. breakwaters.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 20 πλέουσι. πέτρας τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἀποτόμους ταύτῃ
ἐμβέβληται. ὣν δὴ πρὸς τοῦ ῥοθίου ἀρασσο-
μένων, ἀποκρουομένων τε τὴν τοῦ κλυδωνίου
ἐπίθουσιν, καὶ ἀνέμου χειμῶνος ὥρα καταβάντος
σκληροῦ, διαμένει τὰ ἐντὸς ἡσυχῇ ἅπαντα τῶν
τοίχων, μεταξὺ μιᾶς ἀπολελειμμένης ἐπὶ τὸν
21 λιμένα τοῖς πλοίοις εἰσόδου. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ
ἱερὰ τεμένη πεποιήται, ἥπερ μοι ἔμπροσθεν
B 208 δεδιήγεται, καὶ στοάς τε καὶ ἀγορὰς¹ καὶ
λουτρῶνας ἐν δημοσίῳ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σχεδόν τι
πάντα· ὥστε δὴ ταῦτα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βασιλείων
22 ἐλασσοῦσθαι μηδέν. καὶ λιμένα δὲ ἄλλον ἐτεκτή-
νατο ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ, ἐν τοῖς Εὐτροπίου
ἐπωνύμοις, τοῦ Ἑρραίου τοῦδε οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν,
κατὰ ταῦτα εἰργασμένον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὧνπερ
ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως.
- 23 Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν πόλει
δεδημιουργημένα τῇ βασιλίδι, ὡς διὰ βραχυτάτων
εἰπεῖν, ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. ὁ δὲ μόνον ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα
24 δὴ ἀπολέλειπται αὐτίκα δηλώσω. τῇδε τοῦ
βασιλέως τὰ διαιτητήρια ἔχοντος, διὰ μέγεθος
τῆς βασιλείας, ἐκ πάσης γῆς ὄμιλος ἀνθρώπων
P 27 25 τῇ πόλει παντοδαπὸς ἐπεισέρχεται. παραγίνε-
ται δὲ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος ἢ πράξει τινὶ ποδηγούμενος
ἢ ἐλπίδι ἢ τύχῃ, πολλοὶ δέ τινες, οἷς δὴ τὰ κατὰ
τὴν οἰκίαν² οὐκ ἐν καλῶ κεῖται, βασιλέως
δεησόμενοι, τῇ πόλει ἔνδημοι γίνονται διὰ βίαν

¹ ἀγορὰς V: ἀγυιάς A

² οἰκίαν A: οἰκείαν V.

the surface on which the ships float.¹ Then upon these walls he threw rough-cut stones, which are pounded by the surf and beat back the force of the waves; and even when a severe storm comes down in the winter, the whole space between the walls remains calm, a single entrance being left between the breakwaters for the ships to enter the harbour. In that place also he erected holy shrines, as I have already recounted,² and stoas and markets and public baths, and practically all the other types of buildings, so that this quarter is in no way inferior to the Palace-quarter within the city. And he also constructed another harbour on the opposite mainland, in the place which bears the name of Eutropius, not far distant from this Heraeum, executed in the same manner as the harbour which I have just mentioned.

Now the building operations carried out by the Emperor Justinian in the imperial city, to describe them in the briefest terms, were about such as I have recounted. The one detail which remains to be mentioned here I shall straightway set forth. Since the Emperor maintains his residence here, it results from the very magnitude of the Empire that a throng of men of all conditions comes to the city from the whole world. Each of them is led to come either by some errand of business or by some hope or by chance; and many indeed come whose affairs are not in a happy state at home, in order to petition the Emperor; and all these become residents of the city because of some compulsion which is either urgent

¹ Procopius's description indicates that the " chests " were caissons, in this case probably boxes without lids, which were weighted with stones and sunk.

² Chap. iii. 10.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

τινὰ ἢ πιέζουσιν ἢ ἐγκειμένην ἢ μέλλουσιν.
 26 οἷσπερ συμβαίνει πρὸς τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀμηχανίᾳ καὶ
 οἰκίας ὑποσπανίζειν, οὐχ οἷοις τε οὖσι τὴν ὑπὲρ
 27 τῆς ἐνταῦθα διατριβῆς προέσθαι μίσθωσιν. ταύ-
 την δὲ αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς τε Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ ἡ
 βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα τὴν ἀπορίαν διέλυσαν. τῆς
 γὰρ θαλάσσης ὡς ἀγχοτάτω, ἵνα δὴ Στάδιον¹ ὁ
 χώρος καλεῖται (ἀγῶσι γάρ, οἶμαι, τὸ παλαιὸν
 ἀνεῖτό τισι) ξενῶνας² ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐδείμαντο,
 τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα ταλαιπωρουμένοις ἐπὶ καιροῦ
 γενησομένους καταλυτήρια.

B 209

ΛΟΓΟΣ Β΄.

P 28 α΄. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τε Κωνσταντινουπόλεως
 καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ προαστείων ἱερὰ τεμένη βασιλεὺς
 Ἰουστινιανὸς νέα ἰδρύσατο, καὶ ὅσα καταπεπονη-
 κότα διὰ χρόνου μῆκος ἀνενεώσατο, τά τε ἄλλα
 οἰκοδομήματα, ὅσα δὴ ἐνταῦθα πεποιήται, ἐν
 P 29 2 τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ δεδήλωται. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν
 ἐπὶ τὰ ἐρύματα ἡμῖν ἰτέον, οἷσπερ³ τὰς ἐσχατίας
 περιέβαλε Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς. ἐνθα δὴ καὶ
 ταλαιπωρεῖσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τὰ μάλιστα ἐπάναγκες
 3 ἂν εἶη καὶ τὰ ἀμήχανα διαπονεῖσθαι. οὐ γὰρ
 τὰς πυραμίδας ἀφηγησόμεθα, τοῦτο δὲ τῶν ἐν
 Αἰγύπτῳ βεβασιλευκότων τὸ διαθρυλλούμενον
 ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐς χάριν ἀποκεκριμένον ἀνόνητον, ἀλλὰ
 τὰ ὀχυρώματα σύμπαντα, οἷς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος
 τὴν βασιλείαν ἐσώσατο, τειχισάμενός τε αὐτὴν

¹ στάδιον V: om. A.

imminent, or threatening. And in addition to their other difficulties, it comes about that these persons are also in want of quarters, being unable to pay the hire of any stay here. This difficulty the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora solved completely for them. For very close to the sea, in the place called Stadium (for in ancient times, I suppose, it was given over to games of some kind), they built a very large hospice, destined to serve as a temporary lodging for those who should find themselves thus embarrassed.

BOOK II

i. ALL the new churches which the Emperor Justinian built both in Constantinople and in its suburbs, and all those which, having been ruined by the passage of time, he restored, as well as all the other buildings which he erected here, have been described in the preceding Book. From this point we must proceed to the defences with which he surrounded the farthest limits of the territory of the Romans. Here indeed my narrative will be constrained to halt painfully and to labour with an impossible subject. For it is not the pyramids which we are about to describe, those celebrated monuments of the rulers of Egypt, on which labour was expended for a useless show, but rather all the fortifications whereby this Emperor preserved the Empire, walling it about

² ξενώνας A: καὶ ξενώνας V.

³ οἷσπερ Maltretus: καὶ οἷσπερ V, καὶ οἷς A.

καὶ ἀμήχανον τοῖς βαρβάροις καταστησάμενος
τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπιβουλὴν. ἐκ δὲ ὁρίων
τῶν Μηδικῶν ἄρξασθαι οὗ μοι ἀπὸ τρόπου
ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

- 4 Ἐπειδὴ Μῆδοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ Ῥωμαίων τῆς
γῆς, πόλιν αὐτοῖς Ἀμιδαν ἀποδόμενοι, ἥπερ ἐν
λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται, βασι-
λεὺς μὲν Ἀναστάσιος ἄγχιστά πη τῶν Περσικῶν
ὄρων κώμην ἄδοξόν τινα τὰ πρότερα οὖσαν,
Δάρας ὄνομα, τείχει περιβαλεῖν διὰ σπουδῆς
ἔσχε, πόλιν τε αὐτὴν ἐπιτείχισμα ἐσομένην¹
- 5 τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐργάσασθαι. ἐν δὲ ταῖς σπονδαῖς
ἀπειρημένον, ἄσπερ ποτὲ βασιλεὺς Θεοδοσίος
ἔθετο πρὸς τὸ Περσῶν γένος, μηδετέρους ἐν χωρίῳ
οἰκείῳ ἐν γειτόνων που τοῖς τῶν ἐτέρων ὁρίοις
κειμένῳ ὀχύρωμα νεώτερόν τι ἐπιτεχνᾶσθαι,
προτεινόμενοι Πέρσαι τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ξυν-
θήκας ἐμπόδιοι τῷ ἔργῳ σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ ἐγίνοντο,
καίπερ Οὐννικοῦ πολέμου πιεζόμενοι τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ.
- 6 Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπαρασκεύους διὰ ταῦτα
ὀρῶντες ὀξύτερον τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἀντελαμβάνον-
το, προτερῆσαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοντες πρὶν οἱ
πολέμιοι τὴν πρὸς Οὐννοὺς ἀγωνίσιν διαλύ-
7 σαντες ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἴωσιν. ὑποψία οὖν τῇ ἐκ τῶν
πολεμίων περίφοβοι ὄντες καὶ караδοκοῦντες αἰεὶ
τὰς ἐφόδους, οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν
ἐξῆγον, τοῦ τάχους αὐτοῖς τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς
σπουδῆς παραιρουμένου τὴν ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀσφά-
8 λειαν. τῷ γὰρ συντόμῳ τό γε ἀσφαλὲς οὐδαμῇ
εἴωθε ξυνοικίεσθαι, οὐδὲ τῷ ὀξεί τὸ ἀκριβὲς
9 φιλεῖ ἐπεσθαι. οὕτω τοίνυν ἐπισπερχῶς ἀπειρ-
γᾶσαντο τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου ἀνάστασιν οὐκ

BUILDINGS II. i. 3-9

and frustrating the attacks of the barbarians on the Romans. And it seems to me not amiss to start from the Persian frontier.

When the Persians retired from the territory of the Romans, selling to them the city of Amida, as I have related in the Books on the Wars,¹ the Emperor Anastasius selected a hitherto insignificant village close to the Persian boundary, Daras by name, and urgently set about enclosing it with a wall and making it into a city which should serve as a bulwark against the enemy. But since it was forbidden in the treaty which the Emperor Theodosius once concluded with the Persian nation, that either party should construct any new fortress on his own land where it bordered on the boundaries of the other nation, the Persians, citing the terms of the peace, tried with all their might to obstruct the work, though they were hard pressed by being involved in a war with the Huns. So the Romans, observing that they were for this reason unprepared, pressed on the work of building all the more keenly, being anxious to get ahead of the enemy before they should finish their struggle with the Huns and come against them. Consequently, being fearful by reason of suspicion of the enemy, and continually expecting their attacks, they did not carry out the building with care, since the haste inspired by their extreme eagerness detracted from the stability of their work. For stability is never likely to keep company with speed, nor is accuracy wont to follow swiftness. They therefore carried out the construction of the circuit-wall in great

¹ I. ix. 20.

¹ ἐσομένην V : ἐσόμενον A.

- ἄνανταγώνιστον τοῖς πολεμίοις πεποιημένοι, ἀλλ' ὅσον αὐτῷ ἀναγκαῖον ὕψος ἐνθέμενοι, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτοὺς ἐμβεβλημένοι ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω τοὺς λίθους, ἢ αὐτῶν ἐν δέοντι εἰργασμένοι¹ τὴν σύνθεσιν, ἢ τῷ τέλματι τῆς τιτάνου κατὰ λόγον
- 10 ἐναρμοσάμενοι. χρόνου οὖν ὀλίγου (χιόσι τε γὰρ καὶ ἡλίου θέρμη τῷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας σφαλερῷ ἀντέχειν οἱ πύργοι ὡς ἤκιστα εἶχον) διερρωγέται αὐτῶν τοῖς πλείστοις ξυνέβη. οὕτω μὲν τὰ πρότερα ἐν πόλει Δάρας τὰ τεῖχη ἀνέστη.
- 11 Ἐννοια δὲ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ γέγονεν ὡς οὐ περιόφονται Πέρσαι ὅσα γε δυνατὰ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτείχισμα Ῥωμαίοις ἐστάναι, ἀλλὰ πανοικεσία μὲν προσβαλοῦσι, τέχνας δὲ κινήσουσι πάσας ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τειχομαχήσειν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ὄμιλος μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐλεφάντων ἔψεται, οἴσουσι δὲ ξυλίνους ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων οἱ ἐλέφαντες πύργους, οἷς ὑποκείμενοι ἀντὶ θεμελίων ἐστήξουσιν, καὶ τὸ δὴ χαλεπώτερον ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖω τοῖς πολεμίοις περιαγόμενοι καὶ φέροντες τεῖχος γνώμη τῶν κεκτημένων ὅπη παρατύχοι ἐπόμενον.
- 12 ἐπεμβαίνοντες δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι βαλοῦσι μὲν κατὰ κορυφὴν τοὺς ἔνδον Ῥωμαίους, ἐκ δὲ ὑπερδεξίων ἐπιθήσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόφους χειροποιήτους ἐπαναστήσουσι, καὶ μηχανὰς τὰς ἐλεπόλεις ἐπάξ-
- 13 ονται πάσας. ἦν δέ τι τῇ πόλει Δάρας ἀξύμφορον ἐπιγένηται, πάσης μὲν προβεβλημένη τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἀντιτεταγμένη δὲ τῇ πολεμίᾳ διαφανῶς, οὐκ ἄχρι τοῦδε ἡμῖν κείσεται

¹ εἰργασμένοι A: πεποιημένοι V.

haste, not having made it fit to withstand the enemy, but raising it only to such a height as was barely necessary; indeed they did not even lay the stones themselves carefully, or fit them together as they should, or bind them properly at the joints with mortar. So within a short time, since the towers could not in any way withstand the snows and the heat of the sun because of their faulty construction, it came about that the most of them fell into ruin. So were the earlier walls built at the city of Daras.¹

The Emperor Justinian perceived that the Persians, as far as lay in their power, would not permit this outpost of the Romans, which was a menace to them, to stand there, but they would of course assault it with all their might, and would use every device to conduct siege operations on even terms with the city; and that a great number of elephants would come with them, and these would bear wooden towers on their shoulders, under which they would stand, supporting them like foundations; and worse still, that they would be led about wherever the enemy needed them and would bear a fortress which would follow along wherever, according to the judgement of their masters, it should happen to be needed; and that the enemy would mount these towers and shoot down upon the heads of the Romans inside the city, and attack them from a higher level; that, furthermore, they would raise up artificial mounds against them, and would bring up all manner of siege-engines. And if any misfortune should befall the city of Daras, which was thrown out like an earthwork before the whole Roman Empire and was obviously placed as a threat to the enemy's land, the disaster for us would

¹ See W. Ensslin, *Byz.-neugr. Jbb.*, V, 1926-7, pp. 342-347.

τὸ κακόν, ἀλλ' ἡ πολιτεία κατασεισθήσεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον. ἐβούλετό τε διὰ ταῦτα ὀχύρωμα τῷ χωρίῳ περιβαλεῖν ἐπαξίως τῆς χρείας.

14 Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὸ τεῖχος (κολοβόν τε γὰρ ἦν κομιδῇ, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιούσι διὰ ταῦτα ἐπιμαχώτατον) ἀπρόσοδόν τε καὶ ἄμαχον

B 212 15 ὅλως τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐσκευάσατο εἶναι. τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἐπάλξεις πρότερον οὓσας λίθων ἐνθήκη ξυναγαγὼν ἀπέσφιγξεν ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα, ἔχνη αὐταῖς μόνα ἐς θυρίδων ἀπολιπὼν σχῆμα, τοσοῦτον δὲ αὐτῶν συγκεχωρηκὼς ἀνεωγένοι, ὅσον δὴ καὶ χεῖρα διεῖναι, καὶ τῶν τοξευμάτων ἐξόδους

16 ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας ἐνθένδε λελεῖφθαι. ὑπερθεν δὲ αὐτῶν ὕψος τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπετεχνήσατο ἐς τριάκοντα μάλιστα πόδας, οὐχ ὅλον ἐνθέμενος τὸ πάχος τῷ τείχει, ὥς μὴ τῶν θεμελίων τῇ τῶν ἐγκειμένων περιουσία βαρυνομένων ἀνῆκεστόν τι τῷ ἔργῳ ξυμβαίη,¹ ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐκεῖνη ἀέρα λίθων περιβολῇ περιελίξας, στοὰν τε ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ περιβόλου περίδρομον ἐργασάμενος, ὑπὲρ τε τὴν στοὰν τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐπιβαλὼν, ὥστε διώροφον μὲν πανταχόσε τὸ τεῖχος εἶναι, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πύργους καὶ τρεῖς γεγονέναι τὰς χώρας τῶν τε ἀμυνομένων τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὰς ἐπ'

17 αὐτὸν ἀποκρουομένων ἐφόδους. κατὰ μέσους γάρ πη τοὺς πύργους σφαιρικὸν σχῆμα ἐνθέμενος αὐθις ἐνταῦθα ἐντέθεικεν ἐπάλξεις ἐτέρας, τριώροφον ταύτῃ τὸ τεῖχος ἀπεργασάμε·

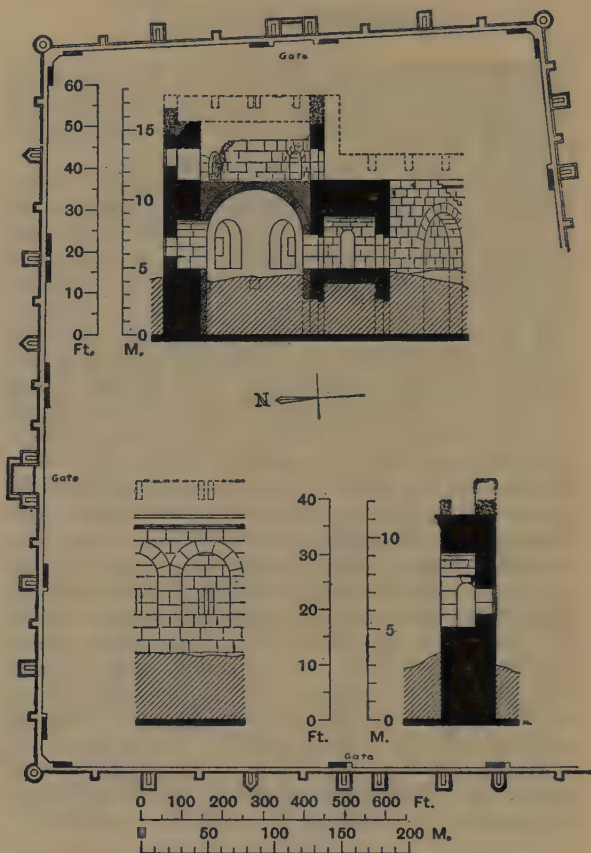
¹ ξυμβαίη V: ξυμβαῖνοι A.

¹ The type of fortifications erected under Justinian here and at other places on the eastern frontier is illustrated by the drawings of the defences of Rusafa reproduced on pp. 104, 105.

not stop there, but a great part of the State would be seriously shaken. For these reasons he wished to surround the place with defences in keeping with its practical usefulness.

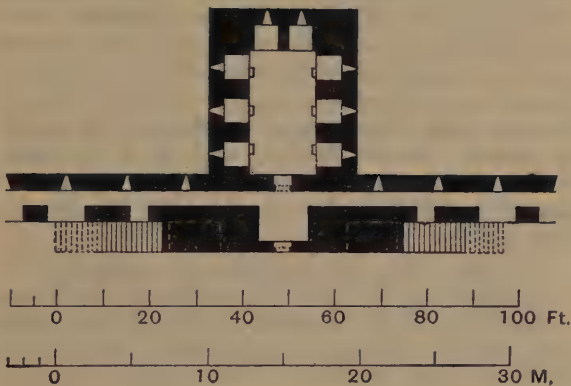
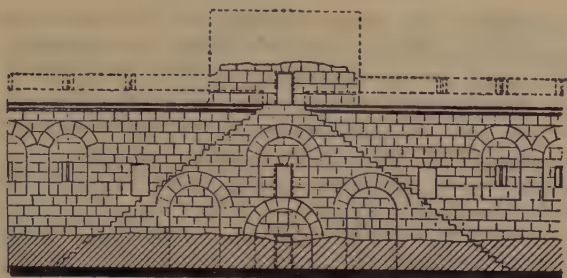
First of all he rendered the wall (which, as I have said, was very low and therefore very easy for an enemy to assault) both inaccessible and wholly impregnable for an attacking force.¹ For he contracted the original apertures of the battlements by inserting stones and reduced them to very narrow slits, leaving only traces of them in the form of tiny windows, and allowing them to open just enough for a hand to pass through, so that outlets were left through which arrows could be shot against assailants. Then above these he added to the wall a height of about thirty feet,² not building the addition upon the whole thickness of the wall, lest the foundations should be overloaded by the excessive weight which bore upon them, so that the whole work would suffer some irreparable damage, but he enclosed the space at that level with courses of stones on the outside and constructed a colonnaded stoa (*stoa*) running all around the wall, and he placed the battlements above this portico, so that the wall really had a double roof throughout; and at the towers there were actually three levels for the men who defended the wall and repelled attacks upon it. For at about the middle of each tower he added a rounded structure (*sphairikon schéma*) upon which he placed additional battlements, thus making the wall three-storeyed.

² In *Wars*, II. xiii. 17 Procopius says that when Chosroes attacked Daras in A.D. 540 the circuit-wall of the city was sixty feet high, and each of its towers one hundred feet in height.



FORTIFICATIONS AT SERGIOPOLIS (RUSAFÄ)

Plan of part of the circuit-wall. Above, section of a tower.
Below, elevation and section of part of the circuit-wall.



FORTIFICATIONS AT SERGIOPOLIS (RUSABA)

Elevation and plan of a part of the circuit-wall,
with stairs and a projecting tower.

- 18 Ἐπειτα δὲ κατανενοηκῶς ὅτι δὴ καὶ τῶν
 πύργων διεφθάρθαι πολλούς, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται,
 ξυνηνέχθη ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ, καθελεῖν μὲν αὐτοὺς
 ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχεν, ἐν γειτόνων αἰὶ τῶν πολεμίων
 ὄντων καὶ καιροφυλακούντων τε καὶ διηνεκὲς
 ἰχνευόντων εἴ ποτε τοῦ περιβόλου μοίρας ἀτει-
 χίστου τινὸς ἐπιτυχεῖν οἰοί τε ὦσιν· ἐπενόει δὲ
 19 τάδε. τούτους μὲν τοὺς πύργους αὐτοῦ εἴασεν,
 ἔκτοσθεν δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστου οἰκοδομίαν τινὰ
 ἑτέραν ἐμπείρως ἐν τετραγώνῳ ἐδείματο ἀσφα-
 λείας τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας εὖ ἔχουσαν,
 ταύτῃ τε τοὺς πεπονηκότας τῶν τοίχων ἐρύματι
 20 ἑτέρῳ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἐτειχίσατο. ἓνα δὲ αὐτῶν
 B 213 τὸν καλούμενον τῆς Φρουρᾶς ἐπικαιριώτατα καθ-
 P 31 ελὼν ἀνωκοδομήσατο ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ παντα-
 χόθεν τοῦ περιβόλου τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας ἀφείλετο
 21 δέος. καὶ τῷ προτειχίσματι δὲ κατὰ λόγον
 22 διαρκὲς ὕψος ἐπισταμένως ἐντέθεικεν. ἔκτοσθεν
 δὲ αὐτοῦ τάφρον ὥρυξεν, οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθασιν
 ἄνθρωποι τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν χώρῳ τε
 ὀλίγῳ καὶ τρόπῳ ἑτέρῳ· ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα,
 ἐγὼ δηλώσω.
 23 Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ περιβόλου ἀπρόσβατα τοῖς
 τειχομαχοῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ξυμβαίνειν
 εἶναι, ἅτε οὐκ ἐφ' ὀμαλοῦ χωρίου ἐστῶτα οὐδὲ
 τοῖς ἐπιούσιν ἔχοντος πρὸς ἐπιβουλὴν ἐπιτηδεῖως,
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἄναντες ἐν τε σκληρῷ καὶ ὀρθίῳ
 κειμένου, ἔνθα οὔτε διώρυχα οἷόν τέ ἐστιν οὔτε
 24 προσβολὴν γενέσθαι τινά. ἥ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς
 ἄνεμον νότον ἢ πλευρὰ τέτραπται, μαλθακὴ τε
 οὔσα καὶ γεώδης ἢ χώρα καὶ πρὸς διώρυχας
 εὐκολος ἄγαν, εὐέφοδον ταύτῃ ποιεῖ τὴν πόλιν.

Then he observed that it had come about that many of the towers, as I have said, had fallen into ruin in a short time, yet it was entirely out of the question to pull them down, since the enemy were constantly in the neighbourhood watching their opportunity and continually scouting to see whether they might not find some part of the defences dismantled at any time. But he hit upon the following plan. He left these towers in place, and outside each of them he cleverly erected another structure in the form of a rectangle, which was built securely and with every possible care, and thus, by means of a second set of defences, he safely enclosed those parts of the wall which had suffered. But one of the towers, called the "Tower of the Guard," he pulled down at a favourable moment and rebuilt so that it was safe, and everywhere he removed the fear which had arisen from the weakness of the circuit-wall. He also wisely added sufficient height, in due proportion, to the outworks. And outside these he dug a moat, not in the way in which men are wont to make them, but only for a short distance and in a novel manner; and the reason for this I shall explain.

The greater part of the defences, as it happens, are in general unapproachable for an attacking party, since they do not stand on level ground and offer no favourable opportunity for assault to an approaching force; but they stand along a steep slope of a rough and precipitous character, where it is not possible for a mine to be dug or for any attack to be made. But on the side which is turned toward the south, the soil is deep and soft and consequently easy to mine, so that it makes the city assailable on this side. So in

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 25 τάφρον οὖν ἐνταῦθα μηνοειδῇ, εὖρους τε καὶ
βάθους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ μακρῷ κατορύξας,
ἐκάτερον αὐτῆς τῷ προτειχίσματι τὸ πέρασ
ἐνήψεν, ὕδατος μὲν αὐτὴν διαρκῶς ἐμπλησάμενος,
ἄβατόν τε παντάπασι τοῖς πολεμίοις καταστη-
σάμενος, ἐν μοίρᾳ δὲ αὐτῆς τῇ ἐντὸς προτείχισμα
θέμενος ἕτερον· ᾧ δὴ ἐφεστῶτες ἐν πολιορκίᾳ
φρουροῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῦ τε περιβόλου καὶ
προτειχίσματος τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀφροντιστήσαντες,
- 26 ὅπερ τοῦ τείχους προβέβληται. ἐτύγχανε δὲ
τοῦ τε τείχους καὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος μεταξὺ
κατὰ τὰς πύλας αἱ καταντικρὺ τοῦ Ἀμμόδιος
χωρίου εἰσί, μέγα τι χρῆμα χώματος κείμενον,
καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ πολέμιοι λανθάνειν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ
πλεῖστον οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει διώρυχας
- 27 ἔνερθεν τοῦ περιβόλου ποιούμενοι. ὅπερ ἐνθένδε
B 214 περιελὼν καὶ περικαθήρας εὖ μάλα τὸν χῶρον,
ταύτῃ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὴν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος ἐπιβουλήν
ἀνεχαίτισε.

β'. Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ὀχυρώματος αὐτῷ τῇδε πη
πεποιήται. καὶ ὕδατος δὲ εἰργάσατο ἔλυτρα
πῇ μὲν τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος
μεταξύ, πῇ δὲ ἄγχιστα τοῦ νεῶ ὃς Βαρθολομαίῳ
ἀποστολῷ ἀνείται πρὸς δύνοντά που τὸν ἥλιον.

2 ρεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐκ προαστείου τῆς πόλεως
διέχοντος αὐτῆς ¹ σημείουν ² δυοῖν, ὃ δὴ Κόρδης

3 ἐπικαλεῖται. ἐφ' ἐκάτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ σκοπέλω
δύο ἀνέχετον ὑπεράγαν σκληρῷ· πρόεισί τε
μεταξὺ τῆς ἐκατέρου ὑπωρείας ἄχρι ἐς τὴν πόλιν
ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος, παρὰ τοὺς πρόποδας φερό-

¹ αὐτῆς Maltretus: αὐτὴν.

that place he dug a crescent-shaped moat, with sufficient breadth and depth and extending to a great distance, and joined either end of this to the outworks and filled it amply with water, rendering it altogether impassable for the enemy; and on its inner side he set up another outwork. On this the Romans take their stand and keep guard in time of siege, freed from anxiety for the circuit-wall and the other outwork which is thrown out before the main wall. And it happened that between the main wall and the outwork, at the gate which faces toward the village of Ammodius,¹ there lay a great mound of earth, under cover of which the enemy were able to be in large measure unobserved while making mines against the city under the circuit-wall. This mound he removed from the spot and he cleared up the place thoroughly, and thus frustrated any secret attack on the wall by the enemy.

ii. Thus did he construct these fortifications. He likewise made reservoirs for water both in the space between the circuit-wall and the outworks and also close by the church which is dedicated to the Apostle Bartholomew, situated toward the west. And a river also flows from a suburb of the city which is two miles distant from it and is called Cordes.² On either side of it rise two cliffs which are exceedingly rugged. This river flows down between the heights on either side of it all the way to the city, carried along the bases of the mountains, and for

¹ Modern Amudah, about twelve miles south of Daras.

² Cf. the description of this river, and of its entrance into the city, in *Wars*, VIII. vii. 6-9.

² σημείων Dewing; cf. for the dative § 16 *infra*: σημείων.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- μενος τῶν ὁρῶν, μάλιστά τε καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῖς
 4 πολεμίοις ἄτρεπτός τε καὶ ἀνέπαφος ὢν· οὐ γὰρ
 ἔχουσι βιάζεσθαι πῃ αὐτὸν ἐν ὑπτίῳ τῆς γῆς.
 ἐπισπῶνται δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.
 P 32 5 ὀχετὸν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου πεποιήνται μέγαν,
 ὀβελοῖς δὲ σιδηροῖς τὸ τοῦ ὀχετοῦ στόμα συχ-
 νοῖς τε καὶ ὡς παχυτάτοις καταλαβόντες, τοῖς
 μὲν ὀρθοῖς, τοῖς δὲ ἐγκαρσίοις, διεπράξαντο τῷ
 ὕδατι ἐς τὴν πόλιν εἰσιτητὰ εἶναι, οὐχ ἐπὶ πονηρῷ
 6 τοῦ ὀχυρώματος. οὕτω τοίνυν ἐς τὴν πόλιν
 ἐσιὼν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη ἔλυτρα ἐμπλησάμενος,
 περιαγόμενός τε ὅποι ποτὲ δοκοίη τοῖς τῇδε
 ἀνθρώποις, εἴτα ἐκβάλλει ἐς ἑτέραν τινὰ τῆς
 πόλεως χώραν, ἐμφεροῦς αὐτῷ τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν
 7 εἰσαγωγῇ πεποιημένης τῆς ἐκβολῆς. περιῶν
 τε τὰ ταύτῃ¹ πεδία ἐς πολιορκίαν εὐπετῇ
 ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πόλιν. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐνστρατο-
 πεδεύεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος περιουσίᾳ
 8 οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν. ὅπερ ἵνα μὴ γένηται λογισά-
 μενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὰ παρόντα ἐν
 B 215 βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο, διασκοπούμενος εἴ τινα τῷ πράγ-
 9 ματι ἄκεσιν εὖροι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀμηχα-
 νίαν ἰώμενος, ἀπαυτοματίσας τὴν πράξιν μελλήσει
 τὴν πόλιν οὐδεμιᾷ διεσώσατο. ἐγένετο δὲ δὴ ὧδε.
 10 Τῶν τις ἐκείνη στρατευσαμένων, εἴτε τινὰ
 ὄψιν ὀνείρου ἰδὼν² εἴτε αὐτόματος εἰς τοῦτο
 ἠγμένος, τῶν περὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας τεχνιτῶν
 ἐταιρισάμενος πολὺν ὄμιλον, διώρυχα ἐκέλευε
 μακρὰν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γεγενῆσθαι, δείξας
 τι χωρίον αὐτοῖς· ὕδωρ γὰρ πότιμον ἐνταῦθα
 11 εὐρήσειν ἐκ μυχῶν ἀποβλύζον τῆς γῆς. κυκλο-

¹ ταύτῃ V: ταύτης A.

² ἰδὼν V: εἰδὼς A.

just this reason it cannot be turned aside or tampered with by the enemy ; for there is no flat ground where they might be able to turn it from its course. And it is drawn into the city in the following way. They have constructed a large channel extending out from the circuit-wall, and covered the mouth of the conduit with a great number of the thickest possible iron bars, some upright and some horizontal ; and thus they have arranged that the water can enter the city without endangering the fortifications. In this way the water flows into the city and fills its reservoirs and then is conducted wherever the inhabitants wish, and finally flows out at another part of the city, the opening for its discharge being made like that by which it enters the city. And winding about the plain near by, it used to make the city easy to besiege ; for it was not a difficult matter, thanks to the bountiful supply of water, for the enemy to encamp there. So in order that this should not happen the Emperor Justinian took the situation under careful consideration, seeking diligently to find some remedy for the condition. And God provided the solution for the impossible problem which confronted him, settling the matter out of hand and saving the city without the least delay. This took place as follows.

One of the men serving in the army in this place, either in consequence of a dream or led to do it of his own accord, gathered a great throng of the workmen who were engaged in the building operations and bade them dig a long trench within the circuit-wall, shewing them a certain spot where he said that they would find sweet water welling up from the recesses of the earth. He made the pit in the form

- τερῇ τε τὴν διώρυχα ἐς ποδῶν μῆκος πεντεκαί-
 δεκα ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸ βάθος κατῆγε.
 12 τοῦτο τῇ πόλει σωτήριον, οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας τῶν
 τεχνιτῶν τούτων πεποιήται, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐνταῦθα
 συμβήσεται κακὸν ἔμελλεν, ἐς πᾶν συμφέρον διὰ
 13 τῆς κατώρυχος ἀπεκρίθη Ῥωμαίοις. ὄμβρων
 γὰρ μεταξὺ ἐξαισίων καταρραγέντων, ὁ ποταμὸς
 οὐπερ ἐπεμνήσθη ἀρτίως πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου
 μορμύρων ἀρθεῖς τε ἐπὶ μέγα κατὰ τὰ ξυνειθισ-
 μένα οὐκέτι ἐχώρει, οὐ δεχομένων αὐτὸν τηλικόνδε
 γεγενημένον οὔτε τῶν εἰσόδων οὔτε τοῦ ὀχετοῦ
 14 ἤπερ τὰ πρότερα. ξυνίστατο οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος
 ξυνάγων τὸν ῥοῦν, ἐς ὕψος τε καὶ βάθος κατα-
 τείνων πολὺ, καὶ πῇ μὲν λιμνάζων, πῇ δὲ κυρτού-
 15 μενός τε καὶ κυματίας γεγενημένος. τὸ μὲν οὖν
 προτείχισμα βιασάμενος καθεῖλεν εὐθύς, κατα-
 σείσας δὲ καὶ πολλήν τινα τοῦ τείχους μοῖραν καὶ
 τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσας πολὺς τε ῥεύσας τὴν πόλιν
 καταλαμβάνει σχεδόν τι ὅλην, καὶ αὐτῆς τὴν τε
 ἀγορὰν καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς καὶ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν
 τὰς οἰκίας περιπολήσας, ἐπίπλων τε ἐνθένδε καὶ
 B 216 ξυλίνων τευχῶν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων φορυτὸν
 μέγαν ἐπαγόμενος, ἐς ταύτην τε τὴν διώρυχα
 16 ἐμπεσὼν ἀφανίζεται ὑπόγειος γεγενημένος. ἡμέ-
 ραις δὲ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἄγχιστά πη τῶν
 Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ὀρίων ἐκδούς, ἐν χώρῳ ἐφάνη
 σημείοις τεσσαράκοντα διέχοντι μάλιστα Δάρας
 πόλεως, οἷσπερ ἐπηγάγετο ἐκ τῶν τῇδε οἰκίων
 γνωσθεῖς· διεφάνη γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ὁ συρφετὸς
 17 ὅλος. καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς
 πράγμασιν ἐν μέσῃ πόλει γινόμενος ὁ ποταμὸς
 οὗτος, περιπλέους τε τοῦ ὕδατος τοὺς θησαυροὺς

of a circle fifteen feet across and drove it down to a great depth. This pit proved to be the salvation of the city, not indeed by any foresight of these workmen, but an event here, which would have been a disaster, turned out entirely to the advantage of the Romans, all on account of the pit. For during this time extraordinarily heavy rains fell, and the river, which I just mentioned, rose in high flood before the circuit-wall and no longer flowed in its usual bed, and it became so swollen that neither the opening by which it entered the city nor the conduit could contain it as formerly. So it backed up and gathered its stream against the wall, rising to a great height and depth; in some places it was stagnant, but elsewhere it was rough and turbulent. Consequently it broke through the outer defences and levelled them at once, and it also carried away a great portion of the main wall, and forcing open the gates and flowing in a mighty stream it spread over practically the whole city, and it circulated through the market-place and the streets and even through the houses, sweeping onward a great mass of furniture and wooden utensils and other such objects; then plunging into this pit it disappeared underground. Not many days later it emerged near the confines of Theodosiopolis, reappearing in a place about forty miles from the city of Daras, and it was recognised by the objects which it had carried off from the houses of that city; for the whole of the rubbish came to light there. And since then, in times of peace and in prosperity, this river has flowed into the centre of the city and filled the storage-reservoirs with water

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ἐργασάμενος, φέρεται μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἔξω διὰ
 τῶν ἐξόδων αἵπερ αὐτῷ πεποιήνται ἐξεπίτηδες
 πρὸς τῶν δειμαμένων τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ μοι
 P 33 18 ἔναγχος δεδιήγῃται. ἀρδεύων δὲ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία
 ποθεινὸς ἅπασι τοῖς περιουικοῦσιν ἐς αἰὲν γίνεται.
 ἐπειδὰν δὲ πολεμίων στρατὸς ὡς πολιορκήσων
 τὴν πόλιν ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, τὰς μὲν διὰ τῶν σιδηρῶν
 ὀβελῶν ἐξόδους ἐπιβύσαντες τοῖς καταράκταις
 καλουμένοις, αὐτίκα τε τὸν ποταμὸν μεταπεφυκέ-
 ναι καὶ τὴν ἐκβολὴν μεταπορεύεσθαι βιασάμενοι
 ἀνάγκη χειροποιήτω, ἐπὶ τε τὴν διώρυχα καὶ τὸ
 19 ἐνθένδε περιάγουσι χάος. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ
 πολέμιοι πιεζόμενοι τοῦ ὕδατος τῇ ἀπορίᾳ διαλύειν
 ἀναγκάζονται τὴν πολιορκίαν εὐθύς. Μιρράνης
 ἀμέλει ὁ Περσῶν στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ Καβάδου βασιλεύ-
 οντος ἐπὶ πολιορκίᾳ ἐνταῦθα ἦκων, τούτοις τε
 πᾶσιν ἀναγκασθεῖς, ἄπρακτος οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν
 20 ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ Χοσρόης αὐτὸς πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐπ'
 αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἀφικόμενος στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐγκεχεί-
 21 ρηκε τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιβουλῇ. ὕδατός τε
 ἀπορίας πέρι ἀμηχανῶν, καὶ ἀποσκοπούμενος τὴν
 τοῦ περιβόλου ὑπερβολήν, ἅμαχόν τε αὐτὴν
 διαρκῶς ὑπώπτευνεν εἶναι, καὶ τὰ βεβουλευμένα
 B 217 μεταγνούς, εὐθυωρόν¹ ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη ἀπιὼν
 ὥχето, τῇ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος κατα-
 στρατηγηθεὶς προμηθείᾳ.

¹ εὐθυωρόν Haury: εὐθύωρος V.

¹ I.e. Perozes. In Wars, I. xiii. 16 Procopius uses the word *Mirrhanes* as the title of Perozes; actually it was the name of a distinguished Persian family (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, XV. 2029, s.v. *Mirrhanes*).

to overflowing and then has been borne out of the city by the exits made for this purpose by those who built the city, as I have just explained. And it waters the land in that region and is always eagerly welcomed by all those who dwell round about. But whenever a hostile army comes up to besiege the city, they close the exits through the iron bars by means of sluice-gates (*katarraktais*), as they are called, straightway forcing the river, by this artificial constraint, to alter its course and change its exit, and they conduct it to the pit and the chasm which leads away from it. And as a result of this the enemy are hard pressed by lack of water and are compelled immediately to abandon the siege. Indeed Mirrhanes,¹ the Persian general during the reign of Cabades, came there to lay a siege, but was compelled by all these difficulties to retire after no long time without having accomplished anything. And Chosroes himself, a long time later, came there for the same purpose with a great army and undertook to attack the city. But finding himself in straits for want of water, and viewing the imposing height of the circuit-wall, which he suspected was quite impregnable, he changed his purpose and departed, marching straight for the Persian territory, outwitted by the foresight of the Roman Emperor.²

² In the last book of the *Wars*, published six years or more before the *Buildings*, Procopius gives a different account of the course of the river (VIII. vii. 8, 9): "But as soon as this river gets inside the circuit-wall, it flows about the entire city, filling its cisterns, and then flows out, and very close to the circuit-wall it falls into a chasm, where it is lost to sight. And where it emerges from there has become known to no man up to this time. Now this chasm was not there in ancient times, but, a long time after the Emperor Anastasius built

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- γ'. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν πόλει Δάρας οὕτω δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς κατεστήσατο· ὄντινα δὲ προσεποίησε τρόπον τῇ πόλει μηκέτι αὐτῇ πάθος πρὸς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ξυμβῆναι τοιοῦτον, τοῦ θεοῦ διαρρήδην αὐτῷ ξυνεπιλαμβανομένου τὸ σπούδασμα
- 2 τοῦτο, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. Χρύσης ἦν τις Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, μηχανοποιὸς δεξιός, ὅσπερ βασιλεῖ τὰ ἐς τὰς οἰκοδομίας ὑπηρετῶν, τὰ πλείστα τῶν τε ἐν πόλει Δάρας καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ χώρα γεγονότα
- 3 ἐξείργασται. οὗτος ὁ Χρύσης ἀπεδήμει μὲν ἡνίκα δὴ ἐν πόλει Δάρας τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πάθος ξυνέπεσεν· ἀκηκοὼς δὲ καὶ περιαλγήσας τῇ συμφορᾷ ἐς κοίτην τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπεχώρησεν. ὅψιν
- 4 δὲ ὄνείρου τοιάνδε εἶδεν· ἐδόκει οἱ ἐν τῷ ὄνείρῳ τις ὑπερφυῆς τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα¹ κρείσσων ἢ ἀνθρώπῳ εἰκάζεσθαι μηχανὴν τινα ἐπαγγέλλειν τε καὶ ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ἣ ἂν διακωλύειν τὸν ποταμὸν ἱκανὴ εἴη ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῆς πόλεως μηκέτι μορμύ-
- 5 ρειν. καὶ ὁ μὲν αὐτίκα θεῖον ὑποτοπήσας τὸ πρᾶγμα εἶναι, τὴν τε μηχανὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὄνείρου ὅψιν ἐς βασιλέα γράψας ἀνήνεγκε, σκια-
- 6 γραφήσας τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄνείρου διδασκαλίαν. ἐτύχανε δὲ οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον ἄγγελος ἦκων ἐς βασιλέα ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως, ὅσπερ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
- 7 ξυνενεχθέντα πάντα ἐσήγγειλε. βασιλεὺς δὲ τότε τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσι ξυνταραχθεὶς καὶ περιώδυνος γεγυνώς, τοὺς τὰ μηχανικὰ εὐδοκιμοῦντας εὐθὺς

¹ ἄλλα Braun: ἄκρα.

this city, nature unaided fashioned and placed it there, and for this reason it comes about that those desiring to draw a

iii. These projects, then, were carried out as I have said by the Emperor Justinian at the city of Daras. I shall now relate how he brought it about that this city should never again suffer such damage from the river, a matter in which God manifestly assisted his effort. There was a certain Chryses of Alexandria, a skilful master-builder, who served the Emperor in his building operations and built most of the structures erected in the city of Daras and in the rest of the country. This Chryses was away at the time when the disaster caused by the river befell the city of Daras, and after he heard the news he went to his bed in distress over the misfortune. And he saw a vision as follows. It seemed in his dream that a certain creature of enormous size and in other respects too mighty to resemble a man,¹ prescribed and gave directions for a certain device which would be able to prevent the river from again running wild to the ruin of the city. He immediately surmised that the suggestion came from God, and wrote an account of the device and of the vision and sent it to the Emperor, shewing by a sketch the instructions received from the dream. It chanced that not long before this a messenger had come to the Emperor from the city of Daras, who reported to him all the damage which had been caused by the river. Thereupon the Emperor was greatly perturbed and deeply grieved by what had happened, and he straightway summoned the emi-

siege about the city of Daras are very hard pressed by scarcity of water." Evidently Procopius learned the account given in the present passage only after he had published Book VIII of the *Wars*.

¹ Cf. the description of a vision in the *Secret History*, vi. 6.

- μετεκάλει, Ἀνθέμιόν τε καὶ Ἰσίδωρον, ὧν περ
 8 ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεμνήσθην. καὶ τὰ ξυμβεβηκότα
 ἐπικοινωνόμενος ἀνεπυνθάνετο τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὅποια
 ποτὲ μηχανὴ γένοιτο, ὥς μή τι περαιτέρω τῇ
 πόλει ξυμβαίῃ· καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν ἑκάτερος ὑποθήκην
 τινὰ ἔφραζε τὴν οἱ δοκοῦσαν ἐπιτηδείως εἰς τοῦτο
 ἔχειν· βασιλεὺς δέ, θείας δηλονότι ἐπινοίας αὐτῷ
 γενομένης τινός, οὐπω τὰ Χρύσου ἰδὼν γράμματα,
 ἐπενόει τε καὶ ἐσκιαγράφει αὐτογνωμονήσας ἐκ
 τοῦ παραδόξου ὃ δὴ τοῦ ὀνείρου ἐκτύπωμα ἦν.
 9 ἔτι δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἡωρημένης καὶ τοῦ πρακτέου
 σφίσιν ἐν ἀδήλῳ ὄντος, διέλυσαν τὸν διάλογον.
 10 ἡμέραις τε¹ τρισὶν ὕστερον ἤκέτις βασιλεῖ τὴν
 τε τοῦ Χρύσου ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὀνείρου
 11 μηχανῆς τὸ ἐκμαγεῖον ἐνδεικνύμενος. καὶ ὃς
 μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς μηχανικοὺς αὐθις ἀνα-
 νεοῦσθαι τῇ μνήμῃ ἐκέλευεν ὅσα δὴ σφίσιν ἀμφὶ τῷ
 12 ἔργῳ τὸ πρότερον δοκοῦντα εἶη. οἱ δὲ ἀπεστομά-
 τιζον ἐφεξῆς ἅπαντα, ὅσα τε αὐτοὶ τεχνάζοντες
 εἶπον καὶ ὅσα βασιλεὺς ἀπαυθαδιασάμενος ἐπήγ-
 13 γειλε γενέσθαι. καὶ τότε δὴ βασιλεὺς τὸν τε
 πρὸς τοῦ Χρύσου σταλέντα καὶ τὰ γράμματα
 ἐπιδείξας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνείρου γεγонуῖαν
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἐσομένῳ ὄψιν τε καὶ σκιαγραφίαν, κατ-
 εστήσατο αὐτοὺς ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ, ἐν νῷ ποιου-
 μένους ὥς ἅπαντα ὁ θεὸς συνδιαπράσσεται τῷ
 14 βασιλεῖ τούτῳ τὰ τῇ πολιτείᾳ ξυνοίοντα. ἐκράτει
 τοίνυν ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίταξις, ὑποχωρούσης
 15 μηχανοποιῶν σοφίας καὶ τέχνης. καὶ γίνεται ὁ
 Χρύσης αὐθις ἐν πόλει Δάρας, ἐπιτεταγμένον οἱ
 πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ὑποτελέσαι τὰ γεγραμμένα

¹ τε MSS.: δὲ Hoeschel.

nent master-builders Anthemius and Isidorus, whom I have mentioned previously.¹ And he communicated the details of what had happened and enquired of the men what contrivance could possibly be made, so that no such calamity might again befall the city. Each of them gave some suggestion which seemed to himself well adapted to the situation. But the Emperor, obviously moved by a divine inspiration which came to him, though he had not yet seen the letter of Chryses, devised and sketched out of his own head, strange to say, the very plan of the dream. However, while their opinion was still unsettled, and it was not clear to them what should be done, they adjourned the conference. And three days later there came a man who shewed to the Emperor the letter of Chryses and the drawing of the device of the dream. The Emperor again summoned the master-builders, and bade them to call to mind their previous thoughts on this problem. And they repeated all the details in order, both what they had devised themselves and what the Emperor had daringly proposed should be done. Then the Emperor shewed them the man who had been sent by Chryses, and his letter, and told them of the vision of what was to be done which had been seen in the dream, and the sketch which had been made, and caused them to marvel greatly, as they considered how God becomes a partner with this Emperor in all matters which will benefit the State. So the Emperor's plan won the day, while the wisdom and skill of the master-builders yielded place to it. And Chryses again went to the city of Daras, with instructions from the Emperor to carry out with all zeal the scheme

¹ *Buildings*, I. i. 24, 50, 70.

σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ, καθάπερ ἡ τοῦ ὀνείρου ὑποθήκη ἐπήγγελλεν. ἐποίει τε τὰ ἐπιτεταγμένα ¹ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε.

- 16 Ἐν χώρῳ διέχοντι τοῦ τῆς πόλεως προτειχίσματος ἐς τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα πόδας, μεταξὺ σκοπέλου ἑκατέρου, ὧν δὴ κατὰ μέσον ὁ ποταμὸς
 B 219 προῶν φέρεται, ἀντιτείχισμα ἐτεκτῆνατο ὕψους
 17 τε καὶ εὖρους ἱκανῶς ἔχον. οὐπὲρ τὰ πέρατα οὕτω δὴ ὅρει ἑκατέρῳ πανταχόθι ἐνήψεν, ὥς τῷ ὕδατι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἣν καὶ σφοδρότατα ἐπιρ-
 18 ρεύσειεν, ἐνταῦθα ἐσιτητὰ μηδαμῇ ἔσεσθαι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἔργον οἱ περὶ ταῦτα σοφοὶ φράκτην ἢ ἀρίδα
 19 καλοῦσιν, ἣ ὅ τί ποτε ἄλλο ἐθέλουσιν. οὐκ ἐπ' εὐθείας δὲ τὸ ἀντιτείχισμα πεποιήται τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ
 20 μνηοειδὲς τετραμμένον, ὅπως ἂν τὸ κύρτωμα πρὸς τῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιρροῇ κείμενον ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀντέχειν τῷ ρεῖθρῳ βιαζομένῳ δυνατόν
 εἴη. θυρίδας δὲ ἐς τὸ ἀντιτείχισμα ἐς τε τὰ κάτω καὶ τὰ ἄνω πεποιήται, ὥστε τῷ ποταμῷ πλημυροῦντι ἐξαπιναίως, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ξυνίστασθαι
 21 μὲν ἐνταῦθα ἐπάναγκες εἶη καὶ μὴ παντὶ τῷ ῥοθίῳ περαιτέρῳ χωρεῖν, ἐκροὴν δὲ κατὰ τὰς ὁπὰς ἀφιέντι βραχεϊάν τινα τοῦ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντος ὄγκου κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπολήγειν αἰεὶ, τῷ δὲ τείχει ²
 22 λελυμασμένῳ μηδέποτε εἶναι. ἡ γὰρ ἐκροὴ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ ξυνισταμένη ὅσπερ ἐς τεσσαράκοντα διήκων πόδας, ἥπέρ μοι εἴρηται, τῆς τε ἀρίδος καὶ τοῦ προτειχίσματος μεταξὺ ἐστίν, οὐδαμῇ τὸ
 P 35 παράπαν βιαζομένη, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς ξυνειθισμένας εἰσόδους κατὰ λόγον χωροῦσα ἐς τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν
 22 ἐνθένδε εἰσβάλλει. καὶ τὰς πύλας, ὥσπερ τὸ πρό-

¹ ἐπιτεταγμένα V : ὑποτεταγμένα A.

which had been described, just as the intimation of the dream had dictated. And he carried out the instructions in the following manner.

At a place about forty feet removed from the outer fortifications (*proteichisma*) of the city, between the two cliffs between which the river runs, he constructed a barrier (*antiteichisma*) of proper thickness and height. The ends of this he so mortised into each of the two cliffs, that the water of the river could not possibly get by that point, even if it should come down very violently. This structure is called by those skilled in such matters a dam (*phraktes*) or flood-gate (*aris*), or whatever else they please. This barrier (*antiteichisma*) was not built in a straight line, but was bent into the shape of a crescent, so that the curve, by lying against the current of the river, might be able to offer still more resistance to the force of the stream. And he made sluice-gates (*thyrides*) in the dam, in both its lower and its upper parts, so that when the river suddenly rose in flood, should this happen, it would be forced to collect there and not go on with its full stream, but discharging through the openings only a small volume of the excess accumulation, would always have to abate its force little by little, and the city-wall would never suffer damage. For the outflow collects in the space which, as I have said, extends for forty feet between the dam and the outer fortifications, and is under no pressure whatever, but it goes in an orderly fashion into the customary entrances and from there empties into the conduit (*ochetagogia*). And the city gate itself, which the river

² *τείχει* l, Hoeschel: *τείχη* V.

τερον βιασάμενος ἑξαπιναίως ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνεπέτα-
σε, περιελὼν ἐντεῦθεν, λίθοις μὲν παμμεγέθεσι
τὴν προτέραν αὐτῶν ἐφράξατο χώραν, ἐπεὶ ἐφ'
ὀμαλοῦ κείμεναι τῷ ποταμῷ ὑπερβλύζοντι εὐέφο-
23 οὶ ἦσαν. ἄγχιστα δέ πη ἐν χώρῳ ἀνάντει κατὰ
τὸ κρημνῶδες τοῦ περιβόλου αὐτὰς ἔθετο, οὗ δὴ
τῷ ποταμῷ βάσιμα ὡς ἥκιστα ἦν. ταῦτα μὲν
οὖν οὕτω διαπεπόνηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ.

- B 220. 24 Ἦν δέ τις ἐν πόλει πολλὴ ὕδατος πέρι ἀμμηχανία
τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις. οὔτε¹ γὰρ ἀναβλυστά-
νουσαν εἶχον ἐνταῦθά πη κρήνην, οὔτε¹ ὀχετῷ
περιαγομένην ἐς τὰς ἀγνιάς αἱ τῇδε εἰσιν, οὔτε
τισὶ θησαυριζομένην ἐκείνῃ ἐλύτροις, ἀλλ' οἷς
μὲν ἀγχοτάτῳ ὁ ποταμὸς κατὰ τὰς ἀμφόδους
ἐφέρετο, οἷδε ἀταλαιπώρως ἀρνύμενοι τῷ γειτο-
νήματι² ῥᾶστα ἔπινον, οἷς δέ³ ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ τῆς
τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκροῆς τὰ οἴκοι⁴ ἐτύγχανεν ὄντα,
τούτοις δυοῖν τὸ ἕτερον ἐπάναγκες ἦν, ἥ τὰ
ἔσχατα πονουμένοις πιεῖν, ἥ δύψει ἐχομένοις
25 ἀπολωλέναι. ἀλλ' ὀχετὸν βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς
ἐτεκτῆνατο μέγαν, ᾧ δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ περιαγαγὼν
πανταχόσε τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἀπορίαν τοῖς τῇδε
26 ὠκημένοις διέλυσεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ πεποίηται δύο,
τὴν τε μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν καλουμένην καὶ τὸν τοῦ
ἀποστόλου Βαρθολομαίου νεών. ἔτι μέντοι καὶ
τοῖς στρατιώταις καταλυτήρια ἐδείματο παμπληθῇ,
ὅπως δὴ τοὺς τῇδε ὠκημένους μηδαμῶς ἐνοχλοῖεν.
27 Καὶ Ἀμίδης δὲ πόλεως τό τε τεῖχος καὶ τὸ
προτείχισμα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω γενόμενα χρόνοις καὶ ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ ὑποπτα ὄντα ἐξίτηλα γενήσεσθαι, οὐ

¹ οὔτε . . . οὔτε Haury: οὐδὲ . . . οὐδὲ.

² τῷ γειτονήματι om. A.

had earlier burst open by its sudden pressure, he removed from that place, and he walled up with very large stones the place which it had formerly occupied, because lying on level ground, as it did, it was easily reached by the river when it was in flood. And he set this gate near by at a place higher up where the circuit-wall was on a steep slope, to which the river could not possibly come. Thus were these works carried out by this Emperor.

And there was a great difficulty regarding water for the people living in this city. For they had neither any spring welling up there, nor water conveyed about the streets of the city by a conduit (*ochetos*); neither was it stored there in any cisterns; but those very near whose streets the river flowed drew their drinking-water without any trouble because of its proximity, those whose homes¹ chanced to be very far from the river's course, were obliged to choose one of these two alternatives—either to take a vast deal of trouble in order to obtain drinking-water at all, or to perish of thirst. But the Emperor Justinian built a great conduit by which he led the water about to every part of the city, and thus relieved the straits of the inhabitants. Furthermore, he constructed two shrines, both the Great Church, as it is called, and the Church of the Apostle Bartholomew. He also built numerous barracks for the soldiers, in order that they might cause no annoyance whatever to the inhabitants.

Likewise both the wall and the outworks of the city of Amida, which had been built long before, and, because of their age, seemed likely to fall

¹ Literally "the domestic concerns."

² δὲ A: μέντοι V.

⁴ οἴκοι V: οἰκία A.

πολλῶ ὕστερον νέα τινὶ καταλαβὼν οἰκοδομία τῇ
 28 πόλει τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώσατο. ὅσα δὲ καὶ¹
 τοῖς φρουρίοις αὐτῷ εἵργασται, ἅπερ ἐν τοῖς ὁρίοις
 τούτων δὴ τυγχάνει τῶν πόλεων ὄντα, ἐρῶν
 ἔρχομαι.

δ'. Ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως ἰόντι ἐς τὰ Περσῶν
 ἦθ' ἡ χώρα τις ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἐστὶν ἀναμάξευτός τε
 καὶ ἀφιππος ὅλως, κατατείνουσα μὲν ἐς ἡμέραιν
 ὁδὸν δυοῖν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ μάλιστα, τελευτῶσα δὲ
 ἐς χῶρον σιμὸν καὶ ἀπόκρημνον, Ῥάβδιος ὄνομα.
 B 221 2 ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥάβδιος φερούσης ὁδοῦ
 ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τὰ Περσῶν ὅρια ἐπὶ μακρότατον
 3 ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. ὅπερ μοι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀγαμένῳ
 καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀναπνυθανομένῳ ὄντινα τρόπον
 P 36 Ῥωμαίοις προσήκουσα ὁδός τε καὶ χώρα γῆν
 ἐκατέρωθι τὴν πολεμίαν διακεκλήρωται, ἀπήγγελ-
 λόν τινες ὡς εἶη μὲν Περσῶν τὸ χωρίον ποτέ,
 δεομένῳ δὲ τῷ² Περσῶν βασιλεῖ τῶν τις Ῥωμαίων
 αὐτοκρατόρων ἀμπέλοις τινὰ κατακορῇ κώμην
 ἐπὶ Μαρτυροπόλεως οὔσαν δώσειε, τοῦτο δὴ
 4 αὐτῆς τὸ χωρίον ἀνταλλαζάμενος. τὸ μὲν οὖν
 Ῥάβδιος ἐπὶ πετρῶν οἰκεῖται ἀποτόμων τε καὶ
 ὅλως ἀγρίων αἵπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐπανεστήκασιν θαυμά-
 5 σιον ὅσον. ἔνερθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ χωρίον ἐστὶν ὅπερ
 καλοῦσιν Ῥωμαίων ἀγρόν, ἀγασθέντες, οἶμαι, τὸ
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὅτι δὴ ἐν μέσῳ³ χωρίων Περσικῶν
 6 κείμενον Ῥωμαίοις προσήκει. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ῥω-
 μαίων ἀγρὸς κεῖται μὲν τῆς γῆς ἐν ὑπτίῳ,

¹ καὶ V: καὶ A.

² τῷ Haury: τῶν.

³ μέσῳ A: μέσων V.

in ruins, he not long afterwards replaced by new structures and thus restored the safety of the city. All else that he did in the fortresses which chance to be within the territory of these cities I shall now proceed to relate.

iv. As one goes from Daras into the Persian country there lies on the left a territory which cannot be traversed at all by waggons or even by horses, extending to a distance of about two days' journey for an unencumbered traveller¹ and ending in a steep and precipitous bluff which is called Rhabdios.² And on both sides of this road leading to Rhabdios the Persian territory stretches out to a very great distance. At first I was amazed at this, and I made enquiry of the natives how it came about that a road and district which belonged to the Romans had land of the enemy on either side of it; and some of them explained that the place had belonged to the Persians at one time, but that at the petition of the Persian King one of the Roman Emperors had handed over a certain vine-producing village near Martyropolis³ and had received this place in exchange for it. Rhabdios stands on precipitous and wholly wild rocks, which rise there to an astonishing height. And beneath it is a place which they call the Field of the Romans, I suppose because they marvelled, at first, that though this lies in the midst of Persian territory, it belongs to the Romans. This Field of the Romans lies on flat ground, and is very productive

¹ In his *Wars*, III. i. 17, Procopius defines this rough measure of distance, which was in common use: "One day's journey extends two hundred and ten stades, or as far as from Athens to Megara." 210 stades is about 24 English miles.

² Apparently the modern Kalat Hatim Tai.

³ Modern Mejafarkin; cf. below, III. iii. 1 ff.

ἀγαθῶν δέ ἐστι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ληίοις κομιδῇ εὖπορος.

7 τεκμηριώσκει δ' ἂν τις καὶ τοῖσδε, ὅτι δὴ πανταχόθεν τὸν χώρον περιβάλλουσι ¹ τὰ Περσῶν ὄρια.

8 Πόλισμά ἐστιν ἐν Πέρσαις ἐπιφανὲς ἄγαν, ὄνομα Σισαυράνων, ὅπερ ποτὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐξελὼν ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλεν, ὅμιλον πολὺν τῶν ἐν Πέρσαις ἱππέων ξὺν Βλησχάμῃ τῷ σφῶν

■ ἡγεμόνι δορυαλώτους πεπονημένους. τοῦτο πόλεως μὲν Δάρας ὁδῷ ἡμέραιν διέχει δυοῖν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί· τούτου δὲ τοῦ Ῥάβδιος σημείοις διέστηκε

10 τρισὶ μάλιστα. πρότερον μὲν οὖν ἀφύλακτός τε ἦν ὁ χώρος ὅδε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις παντελῶς ἄσημος. οὐκοῦν οὔτε ² φρουρᾶς οὔτε ² ὀχυρώματος οὔτε ² ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἀγαθοῦ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἔλαχε πώποτε.

B 222 11 Πέρσαις ἀμέλει οἱ τὸν ἀγρὸν γεωργοῦντες, οὐπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι ἀγγαροφοροῦντες, πεντήκοντα ἐπετείους χρυσοῦς ἔφερον, ³ ἐφ' ᾧ ἀδεέστερον κεκτήσονται τὰ αὐτῶν ἴδια καὶ καρπῶν δύνωνται τῶν τῇδε φυομένων ὀνίνασθαι.

12 βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἅπαντα αὐτοῖς μεταπεφυκέναι διεσκεύασατο. τειχίσματι γὰρ τὸ Ῥάβδιος περιβαλὼν κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν τὴν ὑπερβολήν, αἵπερ ἐκεῖνη ἀνέχουσιν, ἀπρόσοδον αὐτὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις πεποιήται τὸ χωρίον, δηλονότι ξυλλαμ-

13 βανούσης τῆς φύσεως. ἐπεὶ ⁴ δὲ ὕδατος οἱ τῇδε ὠκημένοι ἐσπάνιζον, ἐν τῇ τῶν σκοπέλων ἀκρωρεῖα πηγῆς ὥς ἡκιστα οὔσης, ταμιεῖά τε ὑδάτων εἰργάσατο δύο καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖνη πέτρας πολλαχῇ διορύξας παμπληθεῖς ὑδάτων θησαυροὺς διεπράξατο

¹ περιβάλλουσι V: περιβάλλει A.

² οὔτε Haury: οὐδὲ.

³ ἔφερον Haury: ἔφερον Πέρσαις.

⁴ ἐπεὶ V: ἐπειδὴ A.

of the crops which grow on corn-lands. One might conjecture this also from the circumstance that Persian territory surrounds the place on every side.

There is a fortress in Persia of very great note, Sisauranon¹ by name, which the Emperor Justinian once captured and levelled to the ground, taking captive a great throng of Persian horsemen along with their leader Bleschames.² This is separated from the city of Daras by a journey of two days for an unencumbered traveller, and is about three miles distant from Rhabdios. At first this region was unguarded and was of no consequence whatever to the Romans. For it had never been garrisoned nor had it been fortified, and it had not received any other care from them. Indeed it was to the Persians that those who farmed the "Field" which I just mentioned paid fifty staters annually, just as though they were paying ordinary taxes,³ on condition that they might possess their own lands free from fear and be able to profit by the crops which grew upon them. But the Emperor Justinian arranged to alter all this for their benefit. He encircled Rhabdios with a wall built along the crest of the rocks which rise there, thus making the place inaccessible for the enemy, that is, with the assistance of nature. Then, since those who dwelt there had a scanty supply of water—for no spring was to be found on the summit of the rocks—he constructed two cisterns and dug channels into the rock there in many directions, so that he made many reservoirs for water, in

¹ Other sources call this place Sarbanê, or use variant forms of the name; the site is apparently represented by the modern Serwan.

² Cf. *Wars*, II. xix. 24.

³ On the collection of taxes under Justinian see *Secret History*, xxiii. i-24.

εἶναι, ὅπως δὴ ξυρρεόντων ὑετίων ἐνταῦθα
 ὑδάτων ἀδεέστερον αὐτοῖς οἱ τῇδε ἄνθρωποι
 δύνωνται χρήσθαι, ὥς μὴ τοῦ ὕδατος πιεζόμενοι
 τῇ ἀπορίᾳ εὐάλωτοι εἶεν.

- 14 Καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὲ φρούρια πάντα ἐν ὄρει κείμενα,
 ἅπερ ἐνθένδε τε καὶ ἐκ Δάρας πόλεως ἄχρι ἐς
 Ἀμίδαν διήκειν ξυμβαίνει, τό τε Κιφὰς καὶ
 Σαυρὰς καὶ Μάργδισ τε καὶ Λούρνης τό τε
 Ἰδριφθὸν καὶ Ἀταχὰς καὶ Σίφριός τε καὶ
 Ῥιπαλθὰς καὶ Βανασυμέων, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ
 Σινὰς καὶ Ῥάσιος, καὶ Δαβανάς, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα
 ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐστὶ, γελοιότατα δῆθεν τῷ
 σχήματι ἀποτεθριγκωμένα τὸ πρότερον ἀνοικο-
 δομησάμενος σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἔς τε τὸ νῦν
 P 37 φαινόμενον κάλλος τε καὶ ὀχύρωμα μεταθέμενος
 ἀνάλωτα εἶναι καὶ προβεβλήσθαι Ῥωμαίων τῆς γῆς
 15 βεβαιότατα κατεστήσατο. ἐνταῦθα ὄρος οὐρανό-
 μηκες ἀποκρέματα, ἀπόκρημνόν τε καὶ προσελθεῖν
 16 ἀμύχανον ὅλως. ἐν πεδίῳ δὲ ὑπόκειται χώρα
 γεώδης τε καὶ μαλθακὴ λίαν, ἀγαθὴ μὲν ἀρόσαι,
 B 223 θρέμμασι δὲ ἀτεχνῶς εὖνομος.¹ ἐπικικῶς γὰρ
 17 τῇ πόσῃ χλοάζει. παμπληθεῖς δὲ κῶμαι παρὰ
 τοὺς πρόποδας τοῦ ὄρους εἰσὶν. οἰκοῦσί τε
 αὐτὰς ἄνθρωποι τὰ μὲν ἐς κτῆσιν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
 18 εὐδαίμονες, εὐάλωτοι δέ, εἴ τις προσίοι. ὅπερ
 αὐτοῖς ἐπηνώρθωσεν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, φρού-
 ριον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ ἀκρωνυχίᾳ δειμάμενος, ἵνα
 δὴ τὰ σφίσιν ἐναποθέμενοι τιμιώτατα, ἐπειδὰν
 προσίοιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀνατρέχοντες διασώζωνται.
 19 Βασιλέων δὲ τὸ φρούριον ἐπωνόμασται. καὶ μὴν

¹ εὖνομος Maltretus: ἔνομος.

order that when the rain-water collected in these the inhabitants might be able to use them in security, and then they might not be captured easily when hard pressed for lack of water.

And all the other forts which lie in the mountains, forming a line from there and from the city of Daras all the way to Amida, namely Ciphaz and Sauras and Margdis and Lournês and Idriphthon and Atachas and Siphrius and Rhipalthas and Banasymeôn, and also Sinas and Rhasios and Dabanas, and all the others which have been there from ancient times, and which had previously been fenced about in most ridiculous fashion, he rebuilt and made safe, transforming them to their present aspect as to both beauty and strength, and making them impregnable, so that actually they are thrown out as a mighty bulwark to shield the land of the Romans. In that place there is a lofty mountain towering to the sky, exceedingly steep and altogether inaccessible. And in the plain below the soil lies deep and soft, an excellent surface for plowing and extremely good for pasture, for it is covered with a great abundance of forage. There are numerous villages along the foot-hills of the mountain, inhabited by people who are indeed happy in their possession of the necessities of life, but would be easy to capture, if anyone should attack them. This situation the Emperor Justinian corrected for them by building a fort on the very tip of the mountain, so that they might store their most valuable property there and also, fleeing thither, save themselves whenever the enemy should come against them; and this fort is named Basileôn.¹ Furthermore, he carefully rebuilt the

¹ "Emperors' Fort."

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- καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἀμιδαν φρούρια, πηλῷ τε περιβεβλημένα καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις βάσιμα παντά-
 πασιν ὄντα, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀνοικοδομησάμενος
 20 ἅπαντα ἐς τῆς ἀσφαλείας τὸ ἀκριβέστατον μετεστή-
 σατο. ἐν οἷς τό τε Ἀπάδνας καὶ τὸ Βιρθὸν
 πολίχνιον ἔστιν. ἅπαντα γὰρ ¹ ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι
 21 πρὸς ὄνομα οὐκ εὐπετές ἔστι. συνελόντα δὲ
 εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα πρότερον τοῖς ἐπιβουλευούσιν ὑπο-
 κείμενα ² τανῦν ἀνανταγώνιστα πεποίηκεν εἶναι.
 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἡ Μεσοποταμία τῷ Περσῶν γένει
 ἄβατος διαφανῶς ἔστιν.
- 22 Οὐ σιωπητέον δὲ οὐδὲ ὅπερ ἐν τῷ Βάρας
 φρουρίῳ ἐξεῦρεν, οὐπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως. τὰ
 μὲν γὰρ τοῦ φρουρίου ἐντὸς ἀνδρα τὸ παράπαν
 ὄντα ἐτύγχανεν, ἐν ὅρει δὲ ὑψηλῷ μάλιστα κατὰ
 23 τὸ κρημνῶδες τὸ Βάρας τοῦτο πεποιήται. ἔκτοσθεν
 δὲ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀπωτάτῳ ἐν τῇ ὑπῳρείᾳ μετὰ τὸ
 πρηνὲς κρήνη ἦν, ³ ἥνπερ ἐδόκει ἀξύμφορον εἶναι
 τῷ τειχίσματι τοῦ φρουρίου περιβαλεῖν, ὡς μή τις
 αὐτοῦ μοῖρα ἐν ὑπτίῳ κειμένη εὐάλωτος εἴη.
- 24 ἐπενόει δὲ τάδε· τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου διορύσ-
 σειν ἐκέλευεν ἕως ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὲς μάλιστα ἴκωνται.
 ὅπερ ἐπεὶ ὑπετελέσθη κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως
 B 224 ἐπίταξιν, ἐπIRRέον ἐνταῦθα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς
 παρὰ δόξαν ἐφάνη. οὕτω τε ⁴ καὶ τὸ φρούριον
 δεδημιούργηται ξὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ὕδατος πέρι
 ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ φαίνεται κείμενον.
- ε'. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως, τῆς παρὰ

¹ ἅπαντα γὰρ V, πάντα μὲν οὖν A.

² ὑποκείμενα V, ἀποκείμενα A.

³ κρήνη ἦν added by Hauray, πηγὴ ἦν Maltretus.

forts about the city of Amida which had been enclosed by mud walls and were entirely at the mercy of the enemy, and he so transformed them all that they were perfectly secure. Among these are Apadnas and the little town of Virthon; for it is not easy to mention all separately by name. But, to speak briefly, he has made impregnable at the present time all the places which previously lay exposed to assailants. And as a result of this, Mesopotamia is manifestly inaccessible to the Persian nation.

But I must not pass by in silence the device which he hit upon in the fort Baras which I have just mentioned.¹ It so happened that inside the fort there was no water at all, for this Baras was built on the steep slope of a very high mountain. Outside the fort, however, at a very great distance, there was a spring at the foot of the mountain, beyond the slope; but it had seemed inadvisable to enclose this within the fortifications of the stronghold, so that no part of the defences might lie on level ground and so be easy to capture. Therefore he devised the following plan. He bade them dig within the fortifications until they came approximately to the level of the plain. And when this work was completed according to the Emperor's instructions, water was found there, contrary to all expectation, running in from the spring. Thus not only is the fortress placed in a position of safety, but it proves to be properly situated as regards water also.

v. In the same way he restored the circuit-wall of

¹ Not previously mentioned; but Haury suggests that it is identical with the Sauras mentioned above in section 14.

⁴ τε V, δη A, δε Dindorf.

P 38

ποταμὸν Ἀβόρραν γῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων προβεβλη-
μένης, τὸν περίβολον, ὃνπερ ὁ χρόνος κατεργάσα-
σθαι μάλιστα ἴσχυσε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς τῇδε
ἀνθρώποις οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐδίδου θαρρεῖν,
ἀλλὰ διηνεκές ἅπαντας ἐξέπλησσε, δεδισσόμενος
ὅτι δὴ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν αὐτοῖς ἐμπεσεῖται, ἀνοικο-
δομησάμενος ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ὁ βασιλεὺς
οὗτος διακωλύειν τὰς γε κατὰ Μεσοποταμίαν
Περσῶν ἐσβολὰς ἱκανῶς ἔσχεν.

2 Οἷα δὲ καὶ ἐν Κωνσταντίνῃ ἐπιδέδεικται
εἰπεῖν ἄξιον. ἦν μὲν τὰ πρότερα ὁ Κωνσταν-
τίνης περίβολος τό τε ὕψος κλίμακι ἀλωτὸς τήν
τε ἄλλην κατασκευὴν εὐέφοδος ἄγαν, ὥσπερ τι
πάρεργον γεγεννημένος τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις.

3 τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ διειστήκεισαν οἱ πύργοι ἀλλήλων
ὥστε εἰ προσβαλοῦντές τινες ἐς τὴν μεταξὺ
χώραν προσίοιεν, οὐκ εἶχον οἱ κατὰ τοὺς πύργους
ἐστῶτες καθ' ὅτι ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενοι ἀποκρού-
οιντο. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ χρόνου μήκει πεπονηκὼς
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῦ καταπεπτωκέναι οὐ

4 μακρὰν που ἐγένετο. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτο τῇ
πόλει προτείχισμα ἦν οἷον ἐπιτείχισμα κατ'
αὐτῆς γεγονέναι δοκεῖν. οὐ πλέον γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἢ
ἐς πόδας τρεῖς ἐγεγόνει τὸ πάχος, καὶ αὐτὸ
μέντοι πηλῷ σύνθετον, τὰ μὲν κάτω ἐς ὀλίγον
ἐκ λίθου μυλίου ἀνεστηκός, τὰ δὲ ὑπερθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ
λευκολίθου καλουμένου, σφαλεροῦ τε ὄντος καὶ
μαλακοῦ λίαν. ὥστε δὴ ὅλον ἦν τοῖς ἐπιούσιν

B 225 5 εὐάλωτον. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς τὰ μὲν

¹ Originally called Resaina; modern Ras el Ain.

² Modern Khabour.

Theodosiopolis,¹ which stands on the River Aborrhos² as a bulwark of the Roman Empire; for time had succeeded most completely in breaking it down, so that it afforded no assurance of safety to the people there, but rather kept them all in a constant state of terror for fear that it would fall upon them in the not distant future. But this Emperor rebuilt the greater part of the wall and thus succeeded effectually in checking the inroads of the Persians at least on the Mesopotamian border.

The work that he carried out in Constantina is also worthy of mention. Formerly the circuit-wall of this city was of such a height that it could be scaled with a ladder, and its whole method of construction made it easy to attack, built as it was by men of former times in a casual sort of way. Indeed the towers were so widely separated that if any attackers advanced to make an assault upon the space between them, the defenders posted on the towers had no means of driving them back. Moreover the wall had suffered from the passage of time, and for the most part had come to be not very far from a state of collapse. Furthermore, the outworks (*proteichisma*) protecting the city were of such a sort that they looked like a wall built for the purpose of attacking it (*epiteichisma*). In fact their thickness had not been made more than three feet, and even that was held together with mud, the lower courses for a short space being built of hard stone suitable for making mill-stones (*lithos mylites*), but the upper portion consisting of so-called "white stone" (*leukolithos*), which is untrustworthy and very soft. So the whole place was easy for assailants to capture. But the Emperor Justinian rebuilt with new masonry

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πεπονηκότα τοῦ περιβόλου νέα τινὶ ἀνεσώσατο
 οἰκοδομία, καὶ διαφερόντως τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον δύνοντα
 6 τετραμμένα καὶ βορρᾶν ἄνεμον. τοῦ δὲ δὴ
 ἐρύματος πανταχῇ μεταξὺ πύργοιν δυοῖν ἄλλον
 ἐντέθεικε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πύργοι ἅπαντες ὡς
 ἀγχοτάτω ἀλλήλοις ὄντες τοῦ περιβόλου προ-
 7 βέβληνται. ὅλω δὲ τῷ τείχει καὶ πᾶσι πύργοις
 μέγα τι χρῆμα ὕψους ἐνθέμενος ἅμαχον τοῖς
 πολεμίοις τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὀχύρωμα κατεστήσατο.
 8 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνόδους τοῖς πύργοις κεκαλυμμένας
 πεποιημένους, τριωρόφους τε αὐτοὺς λίθων ἐπι-
 βολαῖς τεκτηνάμενος κυρτώμασι γεγωνυῖαις¹ θόλων,
 πυργοκάστέλλον αὐτῶν ἕκαστον εἶναί τε² καὶ
 9 καλεῖσθαι πεποίηκε. καστέλλους γὰρ τὰ φρούρια
 τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀμφὶ
 τοῖς ὕδασιν ἡ Κωνσταντῖνα τὰ ἀνήκεστα ἔπασχε
 10 πρότερον. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκτός, ὅσον ἐκ σημείου
 ἐνός, πηγαί τε εἰσι ποτίμων ὑδάτων καὶ ἄσπος
 ἐνθένδε φύεται ἐπιεικῶς μέγα, οὐρανομήκεσι
 κατάφυτον δένδροις· τὰ μέντοι ἐντός, ἵνα δὴ οὐκ
 ἐφ' ὀμαλοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ ἀνάντει τὰς ἀγυῖας
 συμβαίνει εἶναι, ἀνυδρός τε ἦν ἡ πόλις ἐκ παλαιοῦ
 καὶ δύψη τε καὶ ἀμηχανία πολλῇ οἱ τῇδε ὠκημένοι
 11 ἐς αἰεὶ εἶχοντο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ὀχετῷ
 τὸ ρεῖθρον μεταβιβάσας τοῦ τείχους ἐντός,
 κρήναις τε τὴν πόλιν ἀειρρῦτοις διακοσμήσας,
 οἰκιστῆς ἂν αὐτῆς³ δικαίως καλοῖτο. τὰ μὲν
 οὖν ἐς τάσδε τὰς πόλεις ταύτῃ Ἰουστινιανῷ
 βασιλεῖ εἵργασται.

P 39 5'. Ἦν δὲ Ῥωμαίων φρούριον παρὰ ποταμὸν
 Εὐφράτην ἐν τοῖς Μεσοποταμίας ἐσχάτοις, ἵνα

¹ γεγωνυῖαις V, γεγωνοσί A.

² τε added by Maltretus.

those portions of the circuit-wall which had suffered, particularly the parts which faced the west and the north. And in all parts of the defences he inserted a new tower between each pair of towers, and consequently all the towers stood out from the circuit-wall very close to one another. Also he added greatly to the height of the whole wall and of all the towers, and thus made the defences of the city impregnable to the enemy. And he also built covered approaches (*anodoi*) to the towers, and made them three-storied (*triôrophoi*) by adding courses of stones curved in the form of vaults (*tholoi*); thus he made each one of them a *pyrgo-castellum*,¹ as it was called and as it actually was. For they call forts *castella* in the Latin tongue. Furthermore, Constantina in former times used to suffer terribly for want of water. Outside the city, about a mile away, there are springs of sweet water and then a very large grove planted with trees which reach to the sky; but within the walls, where the streets happen to be sloping, and not level, the city had been without water from early times, and the inhabitants always suffered from thirst and from the great difficulty of obtaining water. But the Emperor Justinian brought the stream within the wall by means of an aqueduct, and adorned the city with ever-flowing fountains, so that he might justly be called its founder. All this, then, is what was done by the Emperor Justinian for these cities.

vi. And there was a Roman fortress beside the Euphrates River on the frontier of Mesopotamia

¹ A hybrid Greek and Latin expression: "tower-fortress."

² αὐτῆς V, αὐτῶν A.

- δὴ Ἀβόρρας ποταμὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ἀναμιγνύμενος
 2 τὴν ἐκβολὴν ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖται. τοῦτο Κιρκήσιον
 μὲν ὀνομάζεται, βασιλεὺς δὲ αὐτὸ Διοκλητιανὸς
 3 ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδείματο. Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ
 τανῦν βασιλεὺς χρόνου τε μήκει εὐρὼν συντριβὲς
 γεγονός, ἀπημελημένον δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀφύλακτον
 ὄν, ἐς ὀχύρωμα βεβαιοτάτον μετεστήσατο, πόλιν
 τε διεπράξατο μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει περιφανῇ εἶναι.
 4 Διοκλητιανὸς μὲν γὰρ τηνικάδε τὸ φρούριον
 πεποιήται τοῦτο οὐχ ὅλον ἐν κύκλῳ τείχει
 περιβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν ἐς ποταμὸν Εὐφράτην
 ἐπεξαγαγὼν τὴν τοῦ περιβόλου οἰκοδομίαν καὶ
 πύργον ἐκατέρωθι ἀπεργασάμενος ἔσχατον, ἀπο-
 λιπὼν δὲ τὴν ἐνθένδε τοῦ χωρίου πλευρὰν ἀτείχι-
 στον ὅλως, ἀποχρῆναι, οἶμαι, τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
 ὕδωρ ἐς τὸ τοῦ φρουρίου ὀχύρωμα τῇδε ἡγούμενος.
 5 προϊόντος δὲ χρόνου τὸν ἔσχατον πύργον, ὃς δὴ
 ἐτέτραπτο πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον, τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
 ῥόθιον παραξύνον ἐνδελεχέστατα κατέσεισεν ¹ ὅλον,
 ἐνδηλὸς τε ἦν ὡς, εἰ μὴ βοηθοίη τις ὃ τι τάχιστα,
 6 καταπεσεῖται αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα. ἐφάνη τοίνυν
 Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τοῦτο πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ
 κεκομισμένος ἀξίωμα, πάσης ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ
 ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα μεταποιεῖσθαι τῆς Ῥωμαίων
 7 ἀρχῆς· ὃς δὴ οὐ μόνον τὸν πεπονθότα πύργον
 ἐσώσατο, ἀνοικοδομησάμενος αὐτὸν μυλίῳ λίθῳ
 καὶ φύσει σκληρῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν
 ἀτείχιστον πλευρὰν ξύμπασαν ὀχυρωτάτῳ περι-
 βέβληκε τείχει, διπλασιάσας αὐτῇ πρὸς τῷ πο-
 8 ταμῷ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀσφάλειαν. πρὸς ἐπὶ
 τούτοις δὲ καὶ προτείχισμα ἐχυρώτατον προσ-

¹ κατέσεισεν V, κατέσειεν A.

at the point where the Aborrhās River mingles with the Euphrates, into which it empties. This is called Circesium,¹ and was built by the Emperor Diocletian in ancient times. And our present Emperor Justinian, finding it dilapidated through the passage of time and neglected besides and in general unguarded, transformed it into a very strong fortress and brought it about that it became a city conspicuous for its size and beauty. For Diocletian, when he constructed this fortress, did not surround it with a wall on all sides, but carried out the construction of the circuit-wall only as far as the River Euphrates, and he finished off the work at each of the two ends with a terminal tower, but after that he left that side of the site wholly unwalled, believing, I suppose, that the water of the river would serve as a protection for the fort on that side. However, as time went on, the terminal tower which faced toward the south was undermined by the ceaseless wash of the water, and entirely wrecked, and it became evident that, unless someone brought help with the greatest speed, it would collapse immediately. Then appeared the Emperor Justinian, entrusted by God with this commission, to watch over the whole Roman Empire and, so far as was possible, to remake it. Indeed he not only preserved the damaged tower by rebuilding it with hard stone, such as would be suitable for making mill-stones, but he also enclosed the entire unwalled side of the fortress with a wall of the greatest strength, thus doubling its stability by adding the protection given by the circuit-wall to that afforded by the river. In addition to this, he added very strong outworks to the defences

¹ Marked the eastern limit of the Roman Empire.

- εποίησεν αὐτὸς τῇ πόλει, καὶ διαφερόντως οὐ δὴ τοῖν ποταμοῖν ἢ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπιμιξία τρίγωνον ἀποτελεῖ σχῆμα, ταύτῃ τε τὰς ἐνθένδε τῶν
- 9 πολεμίων ἐπιβουλὰς ἀπεκρούσατο. καὶ στρατιω-
B 227 τικῶν δὲ καταλόγων ἄρχοντα τῇδε καταστησά-
μενος, ὃν δοῦκα καλοῦσι, διηνεκὲς ἐνταῦθα καθιζήσομενον, ἀποχρῶν φυλακτῆριον πεποίηκεν
- 10 εἶναι τῇ τῆς πολιτείας ἀρχῇ. καὶ τὸ βαλανεῖον δέ, ὅπερ δημοσίᾳ τὴν χρεῖαν τοῖς τῇδε ὤκημένοις παρέχεται, ἀνόνητον ὅλως τῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιρροῇ γεγεννημένον ἐνεργεῖν τε τὰ ξυνειθισμένα οὐκέτι ἔχον, ἐς τὸν νῦν ὄντα μετέθηκε κόσμον.
- 11 ὅσα μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀπεκρέματο πρότερον ἐπὶ στερρᾶς τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐστῶτα κατὰ τὸ τῶν λουτρῶν¹ τῇ χρεῖᾳ συνοῖσον (ὧν δὴ ἔνερθε τὸ πῦρ καίεται, χυτρόποδός² τε καλεῖν αὐτὰ νενομί-
P 40 κασι), ταῦτα δὴ ἅπαντα τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιρροῇ ἀποκείμενα πρόσθεν εὐρών, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χρεῖαν τῷ βαλανείῳ διεφθαρμένην, λίθων μὲν αὐτὸς ἐμπεδώσας ἐπιβολαῖς ὅσα πρότερον ἀπεκρέματο,³ ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἑτέραν καθύπερθεν ἀπο-
κρεμάσας οἰκοδομίαν, ἵνα δὴ ἀπρόσοδα τῷ ποταμῷ ἐστιν, ἀνεσώσατο τὴν ἐνθένδε εὐπάθειαν τοῖς τῇδε φρουροῖς. τὰ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Κιρκησίου ἐς τόνδε τὸν τρόπον δεδημιούργηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ.
- 12 Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Κιρκησίον φρούριόν ἐστι παλαιόν, Ἀννούκας ὄνομα, οὐπερ ἐρείπιον τὸ τεῖχος εὐρών οὕτω δὴ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἀνωκοδομήσατο Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὥς μηδὲ τῶν τινος ἐπι-

¹ τῶν λουτρῶν Braun : τῷ λουτρῷ V.

² χυτρόποδός Maltretus : κυθρόποδας V.

of the city, and especially where the junction of the two rivers forms a triangle he thus made any attack by the enemy impossible. And he stationed here a commander of select troops, one whom they call a Duke or "leader," who was to be stationed there permanently, and he thus constituted the place an adequate bulwark of the government of the State. The bath, too, which serves the common use of all the people living in the city, had become entirely useless because of the incursion of the river, with the result that it was no longer capable of providing its usual service; and so he transformed it to its present state of splendour. For all the receptacles which previously were poised on solid masonry and were destined to serve the purposes of the bath (it is beneath these that the fire is kept burning, and they are wont to call them cauldrons¹)—all these, he found, had already been exposed to the invasion of the water, and consequently the bath had been rendered useless; so he strengthened with courses of stone all that had formerly been poised there, as I have explained, and built another structure above it, where the river cannot reach it, and thus he restored to the troops there the enjoyment which they gained from the bath. In such a way was the work at Circesium carried out by this Emperor.

Beyond Circesium is an ancient fort, Annoucas² by name, whose wall, which he found a ruin, the Emperor Justinian rebuilt in such magnificent style

¹ Literally "pots with legs." Here the "legs" were apparently the pillars upon which the pots were poised.

² Modern Khanukah.

- 13 φανεστάτων πόλεων ὀχυρώματος πέρι τὰ δευτερεῖα
τὸ λοιπὸν φέρεσθαι. τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ
φρούρια, ὅσα δὲ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Θεοδοσιούπολιν κεῖ-
ται, τὰ μὲν ἀτείχιστα τὸ πρότερον ὄντα, τὰ δὲ
πηλῶ τε καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε γελωτοποιία τετειχισμένα
14 ἀπρόσβατα τοῖς ἐπιούσιν εἰργάσατο· τό τε
Μαγδαλαθῶν σὺν ἑτέροις δυοῖν ἅπερ αὐτοῦ
ἐκατέρωθεν τυγχάνει ὄντα, καὶ Θαννούριος δύο,
B 228 μικρόν τε καὶ μέγα, καὶ Βιμισδεῶν καὶ Θήμερες,
ἔτι δὲ Βιδάμας καὶ Δανσαρῶν καὶ Θιόλλα,
Φιχάς τε καὶ Ζαμαρθὰς καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὡς εἰπεῖν,
15 ἅπαντα. ἦν δὲ τις χῶρος παρὰ Θαννούριος τὸ
μέγα, ᾧ δὲ ἐπιχωριάζειν Σαρακηνοῖς τοῖς πολεμί-
οις διαβαίνουνσι ποταμὸν Ἀβόρραν πολλὴ ἐξουσία
ἐγένετο, ἔνθεν δὲ ὀρμωμένοις διασκεδάννυσθαι
μὲν ἀνά τε τὴν ὕλην δασεῖάν τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφῇ
οὔσαν καὶ τὸ ὄρος ὃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, καταθεῖν τε¹
ἀδεέστερον τοὺς ὠκημένους ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χω-
16 ρία Ῥωμαίους. ἀλλὰ νῦν πύργον κομιδῇ μέγαν
ἐκ λίθου σκληροῦ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ
χώρῳ τούτῳ δειμάμενος ἐνταῦθά τε φρουρὰν
ἀξιολογωτάτην καταστησάμενος ἀναστέλλειν τὰς
τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομὰς παντελῶς ἴσχυσε, τοῦτον
ἐπιτεχνησάμενος κατ' αὐτῶν πρόβολον.
- ζ'. Τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ Μεσοποταμίας τῇδε Ἰουστι-
νιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἰργασται. ἀναγκαῖον δέ μοι
ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου Ἐδέσσης τε καὶ Καρρῶν καὶ
Καλλινίκου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιχνῶν ἀπασῶν

¹ τε V, δὲ A.

¹ Modern Urfa.

that thereafter it took second place in point of strength to no single one of the most notable cities. In the same way those forts which lie about the city of Theodosiopolis, some of which had previously been without walls, while some were walled with mud and the ridiculous construction that goes with mud-work, like a wall made of loose stones, he made truly formidable, as they now are, and altogether unapproachable for their assailants; these include Magdalathôn with two others which chance to be on either side of it, and two named Thannourios, one large and one small, and Vimisdeôn, and Themeres, as well as Vidamas, Dausarôn, Thiolla, Phichas and Zamarthas, and, one may say, all the rest. And there was a certain spot near the larger Thannourios at which the hostile Saracens, after crossing the Aborrhâs River, had complete freedom to resort, and making that their headquarters they would scatter through the thick leafy forest and over the mountain which rises there, and then they would descend with impunity upon the Romans who lived in the places round about. But now the Emperor Justinian has built a very large tower of hard stone at this point, in which he has established a very considerable garrison, and thus has succeeded completely in checking the inroads of the enemy by devising this bulwark against them.

vii. Such were the works of the Emperor Justinian in Mesopotamia. And it is necessary for me at this point in my narrative to mention Edessa ¹ and Carrhae ² and Callinicum ³ and all the other towns which

¹ Modern Harran, a few miles south of Edessa near the ruins of Rakkah.

² Originally named Nicephorium.

- ἐπιμνησθῆναι, ὥσπερ ἐκείνη ζυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐπεὶ
 2 καὶ αὐταὶ τοῖν ποταμοῖν μεταξὺ κεῖνται. τὴν
 "Εδεσσαν ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ τὸ ρεῦμα βραχύς,
 Σκιρτὸς ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἐκ χωρίων πολλῶν ξυνάγων
 3 τὸ ρεῖθρον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν φέρεται μέσσην. ἐνθένδε
 P 41 τε ἐξίων ἐπίπροσθεν ἵεται, ἐπειδὰν αὐτάρκη
 παρέχηται τῇ πόλει τὴν χρεῖαν τῶν τε εἰσόδων
 αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκβολῶν δι' ὀχεταγωγίας κατὰ τὸ
 4 τεῖχος πεποιημένων τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις. οὗτός
 ποτε ὁ ποταμός, ὅμβρων οἱ ἐπιγενομένων πολλῶν,
 ὑπερπεφυκώς τε ὑψοῦ ἀνείχε καὶ ὥς καταλύσων
 5 τὴν πόλιν ἐπήγει. τοῦ τοίνυν προτειχίσματος
 καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου καθελὼν ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος πολλήν
 B 229 τινα μοῖραν τὴν πόλιν περιεβάλετο σχεδόν τι
 ὅλην, ἔργα τε ἀνῆκεστα τῇδε εἰργάσατο. τῶν τε
 γὰρ οἰκοδομημάτων τὰ κάλλιστα ἐξίτηλα ἐξαπι-
 ναίως πεποιῆται καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ τριτημόριον
 6 διεχρήσατο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς μὴ ὅτι
 ἀνεσώσατο τῇ πόλει τὰ καθηρημένα εὐθὺς ἅπαντα,
 ἐν οἷς ἦ τε τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησία καὶ ὁ
 καλούμενος Ἀντίφορος ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅπως μή τι
 αὐτῇ καὶ αὖθις τοιοῦτο ζυμβαίῃ διεπράξατο
 7 σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ. πορείαν γὰρ ἑτέραν πρὸ τοῦ
 περιβόλου τῷ ποταμῷ νεοχμοῦν ἴσχυσε, τοιαῦδε
 8 αὐτὸν περιελθὼν τέχνη. τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ
 ποταμοῦ ὑπτιὰ τε καὶ χθαμαλὰ πρότερον ἦν, τὰ
 δὲ δὴ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ὄρος ἀπότομον, οὐκ ἐπιχωροῦν
 αὐτῷ ἐπικλίνειν που ἢ ἐκτρέπεσθαι τῆς ξυνειθισ-

¹ The flood is mentioned also in the *Secret History*, xviii. 38, where Procopius seems to allude to his intention of writing the *Buildings*: "Thus the Scirtus River, by overflowing Edessa, became the author of countless calamities to the

chance to lie in that region, for these too are situated between the two rivers. The city of Edessa is situated on a river of small volume, Scirtus by name, which collects its water from a wide area and flows into the middle of the city. And after leaving the city, it flows on further, after it has furnished the city with an abundant supply, effecting its entrance and its exit through channels in the wall constructed by men of former times. On one occasion this river, swollen by heavy rains, rose to an altogether extraordinary height and came upon the city as if bent upon destroying it.¹ Consequently it levelled to the ground a large part of the outworks and of the circuit-wall and covered practically the whole city, doing irreparable damage. For in a moment it wiped out completely the finest of the buildings and caused the death of one third of the population. But the Emperor Justinian immediately not only restored all the ruined parts of the city, including the church of the Christians and the structure called Antiphorus,² but also made effective provision that such a calamity should not occur again. For he succeeded in making a new channel for the river before the circuit-wall, circumventing it by the following device. The land on the right of the river was formerly both flat and low, while on the left stood a steep hill, which did not permit the stream to turn aside at all or deviate from people of that region, as will be written by me in a following Book."

² Mentioned also in the *Chronicle* of Joshua the Stylite, Chap. xxvii. ed. Wright. An Antiphorus at Antioch is mentioned by Malalas, p. 397 Bonn ed., and by Evagrius, *Hist. Eccl.*, III. 28. Du Cange, *s.v.*, points out that a structure might be so called either because it stood "opposite a forum" or served "instead of a forum."

- μένης ὁδοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν διωθού-
 μενον ἀνάγκη τῇ πάσῃ. οὐ γὰρ ἦν τι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ
 δεξιᾷ ξυμποδίζον, ἥνίκα ἂν τῆς πόλεως εὐθὺ
 9 φέροιτο. τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ὄρος ἀποτεμῶν ὅλον κοῖλα
 μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ καὶ γλαφυρώτερα
 τῆς αὐτοῦ πορείας κατεσκευάστο, ἐν δεξιᾷ δὲ
 τοῖχον ὑπερμεγέθη ἐκ λίθων ἀμαξιαίων συνέστη-
 σεν, ὥστε, εἰ μὲν κατὰ τὰ εἰωθότα ὁ ποταμὸς
 μέτριος φέρεται, μήποτε ἀποστεροῖτο τῆς ἐνθένδε
 ὠφελείας ἡ πόλις, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τύχῃ τινὶ ἐς ὕψος
 ἀρθεῖς ὑπερβλύζοι, μετρία μὲν τις αὐτοῦ ἐκροὴ
 ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα χωροίη, τοῦ
 δὲ ῥοθίου τὸ ἐπιγινόμενον ἐς τὴν Ἰουστινιανοῦ
 ἐπιτέχνησιν ἀναγκαστὸν ἦοι, ἐς τοῦ ἵπποδρόμου
 τὰ ὀπισθεν οὐ μακράν που ὄντος, τέχνη τε ἀνθρω-
 πεία καὶ γνώμη προμηθεῖ παρὰ δόξαν νενικημένον.
 10 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῆς πόλεως γινομένῳ ἐντὸς
 ὀρθὴν τινα πορείας ἀνάγκην ἀπεργασάμενος,
 ὑπερθὲν τε οἰκοδομίαν ἐκατέρωθι ἐπικρεμάσας, ὥς
 B 230 μὴ ἐκτρέπεσθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ δύναιτο, καὶ τὴν χρεῖαν
 τῇ πόλει ἐσώσατο καὶ δέους αὐτὴν τοῦ ἐνθένδε
 11 ἀπήλλαξεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ¹ τὸ Ἐδέσσης τεῖχος
 καὶ προτείχισμα οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν διὰ χρόνου
 μῆκος ἐν τοῖς ἐρειπίοις ταττόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ
 12 πλείστον. διὸ δὴ ἄμφω ἀνοικοδομησάμενος βασι-
 λεύς, νέα τε αὐτὰ κατεστήσατο καὶ πολλῶ
 13 ἐχυρώτερα ἢ πρότερον ἦν. μοῖρα δέ τις τοῦ
 Ἐδέσσης περιβόλου φρούριον κέκτηται, ἧς δὴ
 ἔκτοσθὲν τις ἐπανειστήκει λόφος ὡς πλησιαίτατα
 14 ὑποκειμένη ἐπικύπτων ἐνταῦθα τῇ πόλει· ὄνπερ
 ἐκ παλαιοῦ καταλαβόντες ἐπιτείχισμά τι οἱ

¹ δὲ V, γὰρ A.

its customary course, but drove it against the city by sheer compulsion; for on the right there was nothing to check it when it rushed straight towards the city. So he cut down this whole hill, and while making the land on the left of the river hollow and deeper than its own bed, on the right he set up a huge wall of stones, each a load for a waggon, so that as long as the river flowed with its usual temperate stream, the city would never be deprived of its benefit, but whenever by any chance it rose to a great height and overflowed, a moderate portion of it would flow as usual into the city, while the excess of the stream would pass under constraint into the channel devised by Justinian and be led behind the hippodrome which is not far away, thus being vanquished, contrary to all expectation, by human skill and foresight. In addition to this, he also compelled the river to follow a practically straight course after it gets inside the city, and above it he raised a structure resting on either bank so that it could not be diverted from its course, and he thus not only preserved the benefit which the city gained from the river, but also freed the city from the fear of it. Moreover, it happened that the main wall of Edessa and its outworks had suffered from the passage of time no less than they had from the flood and for the most part were fit only to be called ruins. Therefore the Emperor rebuilt both of them and made them new and much stronger than they had been formerly. And a certain section of the circuit-wall of Edessa contains a fort outside of which rose a hill, which stood very close by and commanded the city spread out beneath it. The inhabitants of early times, perceiving that this hill

- ἐπιχώριοι ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου πεποίηνται, ὡς
 15 μὴ ἐπίμαχον ποιοίῃ τὴν πόλιν. ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ
 ἐπιμαχωτέραν αὐτὴν παρὰ πολὺ ἀπειργάσαντο·
 διατείχισμα γὰρ ὡς βραχύτατον ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνειμένῳ¹
 τῆς γῆς κείμενον καὶ παιδαρίοις τειχομαχίαν
 P 42 16 ἐμμελετῶσιν ἀλώσιμον ἦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐνθένδε καθηρη-
 μένου ἕτερον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολῇ τείχος
 ἀνέστη, βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ διαπόνημα, δέος
 μὲν ἐξ ἐπιθέσεως καθύπερθε γενησομένης οὐδαμῇ
 ἔχον, συγκαταβαῖνον δὲ τῇ ὑπωρείᾳ μέχρι ἐς τὸ
 πρᾶνές ἐκατέρωθεν καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐναρμοζό-
 μενον.
 17 Ἄλλὰ μὲν καὶ Καρρῶν καὶ Καλλινίκου πόλεως
 τά τε τείχη καὶ τὰ προτειχίσματα καθελὼν, ἅπερ
 ὁ πολὺς αἰὼν μεταξὺ ἐπιρρεύσας διέφθειρε,
 τανῦν τε ἀκραιφνῇ ἀπεργασάμενος, ἀμαχώτατα
 18 κατεστήσατο. ἔτι μέντοι καὶ φρούριον ὃ ἐν
 Βάτναις ἦν, ἀτείχιστόν τε καὶ ἀπημελημένον τὰ
 πρότερα ὄν, τείχεσιν ἐχυρωτάτοις περιβαλὼν ἐς
 τὸν νῦν φαινόμενον μετήνεγκε κόσμον.
 ἦ'. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τρόπῳ, ὥπέρ μοι ἐρρήθη,
 ἐπὶ τε Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Ὀσροηνῆς τῆς καλου-
 B 231 2 μένης Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πεποίηται. ὅντινα δὲ
 τρόπον Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ τὰ ἐν δεξιᾷ ξυμβαίνει
 εἶναι, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. τὰ μὲν ἄλλα Ῥωμαίων τε
 3 καὶ Περσῶν ὅρια τῇδὲ πῇ ἔχει γειτονοῦσιν
 ἐκατέρων ἀλλήλοις χωρία, ὁρμώμενοί τε ἀπὸ
 τῶν οἰκείων ἀμφοτέροι καὶ διαμάχονται καὶ
 συμβάλλουσι τὰς συναλλαγάς, οἷά γε τὰ ἀνθρώ-

¹ ἀνειμένῳ Haury: ἀνεσταμένῳ V, ἀνατεταμένῳ Hoeschel, comparing *infra* V. v. 3.

constituted a threat to the city-wall, had brought it inside the circuit-wall, so that it might not render the city vulnerable. But by this they caused the city to be actually much more vulnerable, for a very small cross-wall,¹ lying on the exposed ground, was an easy thing to capture even for children playing at storming a wall. So after this had been torn down, another wall was built on the crest of the hill, the work of the Emperor Justinian, which did not have to fear any attack to be made from a higher position, and this descended along the slope as far as the level ground at either end and was joined to the circuit-wall.

Furthermore, he also took down the walls and the outworks of Carrhae and of the city of Callinicum, which were falling into ruin because of their great age, and once more made them, as they now are, entire and completely invulnerable. He also surrounded with very strong walls the fortress at Batnae² which previously had been unwallled and neglected, and transformed it into the fine condition in which it is now seen.

viii. So these structures were erected by the Emperor Justinian in the manner which I have described in Mesopotamia and in Osroenê, as it is called. And I shall describe the fashion in which his work was carried out on the right of the Euphrates River. The other boundaries between the Romans and the Persians are in general of such a sort that the territories of the two peoples are adjacent to each other, and both peoples push out from their own territory and either fight with each other or compose

¹ *I.e.* the additional wall by which the hill was brought inside the fortifications.

² Modern Tell Butnan.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- πεια, ὀπηνίκα τοῖς τε ἤθεσι καὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις
 4 διάφοροι ὄντες χώραν τινὰ ὁμορον ἔχουσιν. ἐν
 δέ γε τῇ πάλαι μὲν Κομμαγενῇ χώρα, τανῦν δέ
 καλουμένην Εὐφρατησίᾳ, οὐδαμῇ ἀλλήλων ἄγχιστα
 ὤκηνται. χώρα γὰρ ἔρημος καὶ ἄγονος ὅλως
 διορίζει ἐπὶ μακρότατον τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ
 Περσῶν ὄρια, περιμάχητόν τε οὐδὲν ἔχουσα.
 5 ἑκάτεροι μέντοι ἐν ἐρήμῳ ἥπερ ἄγχιστα γῆς τῆς
 πρὸς αὐτῶν οἰκουμένης τυγχάνει οὐσα φρούρια
 6 παρέργως ὠκοδομήσαντο ἐκ πλίνθου ὠμῆς· ἅπερ
 ἐπιβουλής οὐδεμιᾶς παρὰ τῶν πέλας ἔτυχε
 πώποτε, ἀλλ' ἀνεπιφθόνως ἀμφοτέροι τῇδε ὠκή-
 σαντο,¹ ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον οὐδὲν ὅτου ἂν καὶ οἱ
 7 ἐναντίοι ἐφεῖντο. βασιλεὺς δὲ² Διοκλητιανὸς
 τρία φρούρια τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ
 ταύτῃ ἐδείματο, ὧνπερ ἓν, Μαμβρὶ ὄνομα,
 καταπεπονηκὸς τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ Ἰουστινιανὸς
 ἀνενεώσατο βασιλεὺς.
 8 Τούτου δὲ τοῦ φρουρίου ἐκ σημείων μάλιστα
 πέντε ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη ἰόντι Ζηνοβία ποτὲ
 Ὀδονάθου γυνὴ τῶν ἐκείνῃ Σαρακηνῶν ἄρχοντος
 πόλιν ὤκισέ³ που ἐνταῦθά τινα ἐν τοῖς ἄνω
 χρόνοις βραχεῖαν, καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει.
 9 Ζηνοβίαν γὰρ αὐτήν, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἐπωνόμασεν.
 ἀλλὰ πολὺς ἄγαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιρρεύσας ὁ χρόνος
 ἐρείπιον αὐτῆς τὸν περίβολον κατεστήσατο, ἅτε
 Ῥωμαίων αὐτῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀξιούντων,
 ἔρημόν τε αὐτήν τῶν ἐνοικούντων παντάπασι
 B 232 10 διειργάσατο. παρῇν οὖν Πέρσαις κατ' ἐξουσίαν,

¹ ἅπερ . . . ὠκήσαντο V. ἄγχιστα γῆς τῆς πρὸς αὐτῶν οἰκου-
 μένης ἑκάτεροι A.

² δὲ V, οὖν A.

their differences, as people will whenever nations differing in customs and in government hold any land on a common boundary. However, in the territory anciently called Commagenê, but now known as Euphratesia, they do not live close to each other at all. For a land which is altogether bare and unproductive separates the Roman and the Persian territory for a great distance, and this contains nothing worth fighting for. Both of them, however, have built forts carelessly of unbaked brick in the desert which chances to lie nearest to the land which they inhabit; these forts never suffered attack from their neighbours, for both peoples lived there without enmity, since they possessed nothing which their adversaries might desire. The Emperor Diocletian had built three forts, such as I have described, in this desert, one of which, Mambri¹ by name, had fallen into decay in the long course of time and was restored by the Emperor Justinian.

At a distance of about five miles from this fort on the road to Roman territory, Zenobia, wife of Odonathus, who was ruler of the Saracens in that district, once founded a small city in earlier times and gave her name to it; for the name she gave it was Zenobia, as was fitting.² But the long period of time that had elapsed since those events had reduced its circuit-wall to a ruin, since the Romans were quite unwilling to take care of it, and thus it had come to be altogether destitute of inhabitants. So it was possible for the

¹ Possibly the modern Tabus, above Deir ez Zor.

² Modern Zelebiye.

³ ὠκισέ Hoeschel: ὠκησε.

- ἥνικα ἂν ἡ βουλομένοις σφίσιν, ἐν μέσοις γενέσθαι
 Ῥωμαίοις, ἀνηκόοις ἔτι τῆς τῶν πολεμίων
 11 ἐφόδου οὖσιν. ἀλλὰ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν Ἰουστινιανὸς
 βασιλεὺς ἀνοικοδομησάμενος σύμπασαν, οἰκη-
 τῶρων τε κατακόρως ἐμπλησάμενος, ἄρχοντά τε
 στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων καὶ διαρκὲς ἄγαν κατα-
 στησάμενος φυλακτήριον, πρόβOLON μὲν εἶναι
 τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, ἐπιτείχισμα δὲ διεπράξατο
 12 Πέρσαις· ὅς γε οὐχ ὅσον τὸ πρότερον ἀπέδωκε
 σχῆμα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείστον ἐχυρωτέραν εἰργάσατο
 ἢ πρότερον ἦν. σκόπελοι γὰρ αὐτὴν περι-
 13 βάλλουσιν ὡς ἀγχοτάτω· τοῖς τε πολεμίοις διὰ
 ταῦτα ἐξῆν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένους
 14 κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐνθένδε βάλλειν. ὅπερ ἀποκρού-
 εσθαι διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων οἰκοδομίαν τινὰ τῇ τοῦ
 περιβόλου ὑπερβολῇ ἐτέραν ἐνῆψε κατ' αὐτὸ
 μάλιστα τὸ τῶν σκοπέλων γειτόνημα, προκάλυμμα
 τοῖς ἐνθένδε μαχομένοις αἰεὶ ἐσομένην. πτερὰ
 τὴν οἰκοδομίαν καλοῦσι ταύτην, ἐπεὶ ὥσπερ
 15 ἀποκρέμασθαι τοῦ τείχους δοκεῖ. ἅπαντα μὲν
 οὖν ὅσα βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ζηνοβίας εἰργάσατο φράσαι
 ἀμήχανον, ἐπεὶ ἐν χώρῳ ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀγείτονι
 οὖσαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν κινδύνοις αἰεὶ
 ἐσομένην, ἐπικουρίας δὲ τυχεῖν Ῥωμαίων πλησιο-
 χώρων οὐκ ὄντων αὐτῇ οὐκ ἂν δυναμένην, βεβαι-
 οτάτης, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἐπιμελείας μάλιστα πάντων
 ἡξίωσεν· ὀλίγα δὲ μοι ἅττα τῶν τῇδε πεπραγ-
 μένων γεγράψεται.
- 16 Παραρρεῖ μὲν ¹ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν Εὐφράτης ποταμὸς
 πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ὡς ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ
 ἐκείνη περιβόλου ἰών, ὁρῶν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν

¹ μὲν V, δὲ A.

Persians freely, whenever they wished, to get into the middle of Roman territory before the Romans had word of the hostile inroad. But the Emperor Justinian rebuilt Zenobia completely and filled it quite full of inhabitants, and he stationed there a commander of select troops and a thoroughly adequate garrison, and made it a bulwark of the Roman Empire and a frontier barrier against the Persians; indeed he did not simply restore its previous form, but he actually made it very much stronger than it was before. It is surrounded by cliffs which stand very close to the city, and for this reason it was possible for the enemy to shoot down from their summits upon the heads of the defenders of the circuit-wall. This he was anxious to prevent, and so he built a certain additional structure on the top of the circuit-wall, at precisely the place where the cliffs are nearest, designed to serve permanently as a shelter for the men fighting there. Such a structure they call "wings" (*ptera*), because it appears to droop, as it were, from the wall. However, it is impossible to describe all that the Emperor accomplished at Zenobia, since, seeing that it occupies a site far removed from any neighbour and on this account is sure to be always in danger, and that it is unable to secure succour because there are no Romans who live near at hand, the Emperor considered the city worthy, as well he might, of his unceasing attention above all other places. Nevertheless I shall describe a few of the things that were done there.

By the side of Zenobia flows the Euphrates River, passing to the east of it and coming very close to the circuit-wall on that side; but since high mountains

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- ὑψηλῶν ἀνεχόντων ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ διασκεδάν-
 νυσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔχων, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τοῦ γειτονή-
 ματος τῶν ἐνταῦθα ὀρώων, ταῖς τε ὄχθαις
 σκληραῖς οὖσαις πεπιεσμένος καὶ ἐν στενῷ μά-
 λιστα ξυνάγων τὸ ῥεῦμα, ἐπειδὰν αὐτῷ ὄμβρων
 ἐπιγενομένων ὑπερβλύζειν ξυνενεχθείη, ἐπιχυθεὶς
 τῷ τείχει, εὐθὺς οὐκ ἀμφὶ τὰ θεμέλια μόνον, ἀλλ'
 17 ἄχρι ἐς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐπέκλυζεν. οὐ δὴ τῷ
 ῥοθίῳ καταβεβρεγμένου ξυνέβαινε τὰς ἐπιβολὰς
 ξυγγεῖσθαι τῶν λίθων ἐπὶ σφαλερᾷς τε αὐτῶν
 18 τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ξυνθήκης ἐστάναι. ἀλλὰ ¹ παμ-
 μεγέθη ἐκ λίθου μυλίου πρόβολον τῷ περιβόλῳ ²
 ἰσομήκη ἀπεργασάμενος ἐνταῦθα μὲν αἰεὶ ἐνοχλεῖν
 τὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κλυδώνιον ὑπερβλύζοντος κατ-
 ηνάγκασεν, ἐλεύθερον δὲ τὸ παράπαν τῆς ἐνθένδε
 λώβης τὸ τεῖχος ἀφῆκεν, ἣν καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὁ
 ποταμὸς κυμαίνων ³ ἐς ὕψος ἐγείρηται μέγα.
 19 ταύτης δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸν περίβολον, ὃς δὴ
 αὐτῆς ἐτέτραπτο πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον, πεπονηκότα
 παντάπασι χρόνου μήκει εὐρών, παρέλυσε μὲν
 σὺν τῷ προτειχίσματι ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἀνωκοδομή-
 σατο δὲ οὐχ ἥπερ τὸ πρότερον ἦν, ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα
 P 44 αἱ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομαὶ στενοχωροῦνται μάλιστα
 20 τοὺς ταύτῃ ὠκνημένους ἡνίων. ἀλλὰ τὴν προτέραν
 ὑπερβὰς τῶν τε θεμελίων τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τοῦ
 προτειχίσματος χώραν, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τὴν τάφρον
 αὐτήν, ἐνταῦθα τὸ τεῖχος ἐδείματο ἀξιοθέατόν τε
 καὶ διαφερόντως εὐπρόσωπον, ταύτῃ εὐρυτέραν
 21 παρὰ πολὺ τὴν Ζηνοβίαν πεποιημένος. ἀλλὰ καὶ
 λόφος τις ἄγχιςτα ⁴ τῆς πόλεως εἰστήκει πρὸς

¹ ἀλλὰ Maltretus: ἀλλὰ λίθον.

² τῷ περιβόλῳ V, τοῦ περιβόλου A.

rise beside the river at this point, the stream cannot spread out at all, but by reason of the proximity of these mountains and because it is constrained by its banks, which are hard, it would gather its stream into an extraordinarily narrow space whenever it chanced that rains caused it to rise in flood, and would pour out against the wall and immediately rise, not only about the foundations but even as far as the battlements. And when the wall had once been soaked through by the water, the result was that the river loosened the courses of stones and thereafter the wall stood upon a dangerous conglomeration of stones. But he constructed a huge protective wall (*probolos*) of hard stone of equal length with the circuit-wall, and caused this to check at that point the turbulence of the river when it rose, and so freed the wall entirely from harm from this source, even should the river rise to a great height in its most violent state. He also found that portion of the city's circuit-wall which faces the north dangerously weakened by the passage of time; so he first took it down, along with the outworks, clear to the ground, and then rebuilt it, yet not as it had been before, for at that point the buildings of the city had been especially crowded, causing trouble to those who lived there. But he went beyond the place where the foundations of the circuit-wall and the outworks had formerly stood, even beyond the moat itself, and there he built the wall, which is a remarkable sight in itself and exceptionally beautiful, thus materially increasing the area of Zenobia. Furthermore, a certain hill stood very close to the city on the

³ κυμαίνων A, κυματῶν V.

⁴ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως before ἀγχιστα bracketed by Haury.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον· ἐξ οὗ δὴ παρῆν τοῖς ἐπιούσιν αἰὲ βαρβάροις βάλλειν κατὰ κορυφὴν ἀδεέστερον τοὺς τε ἀμυνομένους αὐτῆς καὶ οὐχ
- 22 ἥκιστα τοὺς ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐστῶτας. τούτῳ οὖν τῷ λόφῳ τείχισμα ἐνάψας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐκατέρωθεν, ἐντὸς τε αὐτὸν τῆς Ζηνοβίας καταστησάμενος, ἔξυσε μὲν ὅλον ἐνδελεχέστατα, ὥς μή τις κακουργήσων ἐνθένδε ἀνίοι, τείχισμα δὲ ἄλλο τοῦ λόφου ὑπερθεῖν ἔθετο, ἀπρόσοδόν τε ὅλως τὴν πόλιν οὕτως τοῖς ἐπι-
- 23 βουλευεῖν ἐθέλουσιν ἀπειργάσατο. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ λόφου ἐκτὸς κοίλῃν εἶναι τὴν γῆν ἐς ἄγαν συμβαίνει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐγγυτέρω ἰέναι τοὺς
- 24 πολεμίους ἀδύνατον. ὑπὲρ γῆν δὲ τὴν κοίλῃν εὐθύς τὰ ὄρη ἀνέχει ἃ πρὸς ἥλιον δύοντα τέτραπται. οὐ μόνον δὲ τῇ πόλει τὰ ἐς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπρυτάνευσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀνέθηκε καὶ στρατιωτικῶν σημείων οἰκίας.
- 25 ἔτι μέντοι λουτρῶνας καὶ στοὰς προσεποίησεν αὐτῇ δημοσίας. ἐς ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Ἰσίδωρος τε καὶ Ἰωάννης μηχανοποιοὶ τὴν ὑπουργίαν παρέσχοντο, Βυζάντιος μὲν Ἰωάννης, Ἰσίδωρος δὲ Μιλήσιος γένος, Ἰσιδώρου ἀδελφιδοῦς οὐπερ ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεμνήσθην, νεανίαί μὲν ἄμφω, δύναμιν δὲ φύσεως ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐπιδειξάμενοι καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως συνακμάσαντες ἔργων.

θ'. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ¹ Ζηνοβίαν τὸ Σούρων πόλισμα, πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ κείμενον, οὕτω δὴ εὐκαταφρόνητον τὸ τείχισμα εἶχεν ὥστε Χοσρόην

¹ τὴν V, om. A

side toward the west, from which it was possible for the barbarians, whenever they attacked the city, to shoot down with impunity upon the heads of the defenders, and even upon the heads of those who stood in the middle of the city. So the Emperor Justinian connected the fortifications with this hill on both sides, and thus brought it inside Zenobia; and he escarped the whole hill throughout, so that no one might climb it to work harm from there, and placed another fortification on its summit and thus made the city altogether inaccessible to those who wished to assault it. For beyond the hill it chances that the ground is very low and for this reason it is impossible for the enemy to approach it at all closely. And immediately above the depression rise the mountains which face toward the west. Yet this Emperor did not provide only for the safety of this city, but he erected churches there and barracks for the military forces; nay more, he added to it public baths and stoas. For all these operations the master-builders Isidorus and John gave their assistance—John a Byzantine and Isidorus a Milesian by birth, nephew of the Isidorus whom I have mentioned before.¹ Both of them were young men, but they displayed a natural ability beyond their years, and they had come to their full maturity with their experience in the Emperor's undertakings.

ix. After Zenobia is the fortress of Sura,² situated on the Euphrates River, which had such contemptible defences that when Chosroes, on one occasion,

¹ *Buildings*, I. i. 24, 50, 70, II. iii. 7. It is possible that Isidorus the younger is mentioned in an inscription recording work done at Chalcis in A.D. 550-1; see the inscriptions cited in the note on II. xi. 1, below.

² Modern Suriya, near el Hammam, west of Callinicum.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

προσβαλόντα ποτὲ οὐδὲ ὅσον ἡμιώριον ἀπεκρού-
 2 σατο, ἀλλ' εὐθυωρὸν ἐάλω Πέρσαις. ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοῦτο, ὥσπερ Καλλίνικον, Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς
 ἀνοικοδομησάμενος τὸ πολίχνιον ὅλον τείχει τε
 ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν καὶ προτειχίσματι κρατυνά-
 μενος μηκέτι εἴκειν¹ προσβάλλουσι πολεμίοις
 διεσκευάσατο.²

B 235 3 Ἔστι δέ τις νεὺς Σεργίῳ ἀνειμένος ἐν τῇ
 Εὐφρατῆσίᾳ ἐπιφανεῖ ἀγίῳ, ὃν δὴ σέβοντές τε
 καὶ τεθηπότες οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι Σεργιούπολιν
 τε ἐπωνόμασαν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ τειχίσματι βραχυ-
 τάτῳ περιβεβλήκεσαν, ὅσον τοὺς ἐκείνη³ Σαρακη-
 P 45 4 νοὺς ἀποκρούεσθαι οἷόν τε εἶναι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς
 αὐτὸ ἐξελεῖν. ἀδύνατοι γὰρ τειχομαχεῖν εἰσι
 Σαρακηνοὶ φύσει, καὶ τι αὐτῶν, ἃν οὕτω τύχοι,
 5 τείχισμα φαυλότατον καὶ πηλῷ σύνθετον ἐμπόδιον
 τῇ ὁρμῇ γίνεται. ἀλλ' ὕστερον ὁ νεὺς οὗτος
 6 κειμηλίων προσόδῳ δυνατὸς τε καὶ ἀπόβλεπτος
 διὰ παντὸς ἦν. ὁ δὲ λογισάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς
 βασιλεὺς τὸ πρᾶγμα εὐθὺς ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ πεποιήται,
 7 τείχει τε ἀξιολογωτάτῳ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα περι-
 βέβληκε, καὶ ὑδάτων θησαυρίσας μέγα τι χρῆμα
 8 πλήθειν αὐτοῖς ἐσκευάσατο. ἔτι μέντοι καὶ
 οἰκίας τε καὶ στοὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας οἰκοδομίας τῷ
 9 χωρίῳ ἐντέθεικεν ἃ δὴ πόλεως ἐγκαλλωπίσματα
 γίνεσθαι εἴωθεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουρὰν τῇδε στρα-
 τιωτῶν εἰς καιρὸν τοῦ περιβόλου ἀμυνομένων
 ἰδρύσατο. Χοσρόης ἀμέλει ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς

¹ εἴκειν V, ἤκειν A.

² διεσκευάσατο V, μετεσκευάσατο A.

³ ἐκείνη V, ἐκεῖ A.

attacked it, it did not hold him off for so much as a half-hour, but was captured immediately by the Persians. This too, like Callinicum, was rebuilt by the Emperor Justinian, who surrounded the entire fortress with a very stout wall, which he strengthened by outworks and thus brought it about that it should no longer yield to the enemy's assaults.

There is a certain church in Euphratesia, dedicated to Sergius, a famous saint, whom men of former times used to worship and revere, so that they named the place Sergiopolis,¹ and they had surrounded it with a very humble wall, just sufficient to prevent the Saracens of the region from capturing it by storm. For the Saracens are naturally incapable of storming a wall, and the weakest kind of barricade, put together with perhaps nothing but mud, is sufficient to check their assault. At a later time, however, this church, through its acquisition of treasures, came to be powerful and celebrated. And the Emperor Justinian, upon considering this situation, at once gave it careful attention, and he surrounded the church with a most remarkable wall, and he stored up a great quantity of water and thus provided the inhabitants with a bountiful supply. Furthermore, he added to the place houses and stoas and the other buildings which are wont to be the adornments of a city. Besides this he established there a garrison of soldiers who, in case of need, defended the circuit-wall. Chosroes, indeed, the King of the Persians,

¹ Originally called Resapha, now Rusafa; south of Callinicum, on the road from Palmyra. Drawings of parts of its fortifications, which are typical of those built under Justinian on the eastern frontier, are reproduced on pp. 104, 105.

ἐν σπουδῇ πεποιημένος τὴν πόλιν ἐλεῖν στράτευμά τε αὐτῇ ἐπὶ πολιορκία ¹ πολὺ ἐπιστήσας ἄπρακτος ἐνθένδε ὀχυρώματος ἰσχυῖ τὴν προσεδρείαν διέλυσε.

- 10 Καὶ πολίσματα δὲ καὶ φρούρια πάντα ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς τῶν Εὐφρατησίας ὀρίων ὄντα τῆς ὁμοίας ἐπιμελείας ἡξίωσε, Βαρβαλισσοῦ τε καὶ Νεοκαισαρείας καὶ τοῦ Γαβούλων καλουμένου καὶ τῆς πρὸς Εὐφράτῃ τῷ ποταμῷ Πεντακωμίας καὶ τοῦ Εὐρωποῦ· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ τοῦ καλουμένου Ἡμερίου τὰ τεῖχη εὐρῶν πῇ μὲν παρέργως τε καὶ ἐπὶ σφαλερᾷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας γεγεννημένα, πῇ δὲ καὶ μόνῳ περιβεβλημένα πηλῷ, πιεζόμενα δὲ καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορία πολλῇ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐκαταφρόνητα παντάπασιν ὄντα, καθ-
 B 236 εἶλε μὲν εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἀκριβὲς λίθων ἐπιβολαῖς σκληρῶν μάλιστα δειμάμενος εὐθύς ἅπαντα, εὖρους τε καὶ ὕψους μέγα τι χρῆμα τῷ ἔργῳ κατὰ λόγον ἐνθέμενος, καὶ ὑδάτων ταμιεῖα τεκτηνάμενος πανταχόσε τῶν ὀχυρωμάτων παμπληθῇ, ταῦτά τε κατακορῇ ὕδασι ὀμβρίοις καταστησάμενος ἅπαντα· ἰδρυσάμενος δὲ καὶ φρουρῶν ² ὅμιλον, ἐς τὴν νῦν φαινομένην ἀσφάλειαν καρτερώτατα τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπικράτειαν μετεβίβασεν.
- 11 ἃ δὲ ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἂν τις διασκοπούμενος τάς τε ἄλλας ἀπάσας Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἀγαθο-
 εργίας ὑπεριδῶν, τούτου δὴ μόνου φαίῃ ἂν εἵνεκα τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβεῖν, τοῦ θεοῦ δηλονότι τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας Ῥωμαίων τῷ γένει διηνεκὲς πρυτανεύοντος.

¹ πολιορκία 1, πολιορκίαν V.

² φρουρῶν Haury : φρουρὸν V.

made a great effort to capture the city, sending a great army to besiege it; but because of the strength of the defences he accomplished nothing and abandoned the investment.

The Emperor bestowed the same careful attention on all the towns and forts which lie on the farthest borders of Euphratesia, namely Barbalissus¹ and Neocaesarea,² and Gaboulôn,³ as it is called, and the Pentacomia which is on the Euphrates River, and Europus.⁴ Also he found the walls of the place called Hemerium⁵ to be in part carelessly built and of unsafe construction and in part actually to consist of nothing but mud, while the place suffered from great scarcity of water, so that it was in every way an object of contempt to the enemy; so he razed it to the ground and immediately rebuilt it all carefully with courses of very hard stone, rightly giving the work generous proportions of both breadth and height, and he fashioned many cisterns for water in all parts of the defences, filling all these amply with rain-water; moreover, he established a large garrison there and so brought about the state of security which we now see there, and made the city's dominance sure. And if one should consider these fortresses very carefully, disregarding all the other useful works of the Emperor Justinian, he would say that it was solely for this purpose that he succeeded to the imperial power, since God unceasingly provides for the safety of the Roman people.

¹ Modern Balis, at Eski Meskenê on the Euphrates, between Beroea and Callinicum.

² On the Euphrates between Barbalissus and Sura.

³ Modern Jabboul, south-east of Beroea.

⁴ Modern Jerablus, the site of Carchemish, on the Euphrates.

⁵ Near the Euphrates, close to Europus.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 12 Πρὸς ἐπὶ ¹ τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἱεράπολιν, ² ἥπερ
ἀπασῶν πρώτη τῶν τῇδε πόλεων τυγχάνει οὔσα,
λαβὼν ἀποκειμένην τοῖς ἐπιβουλευέιν ἐθέλουσι,
13 προμηθεῖ διεσώσατο γνώμη. χώραν τε γὰρ
ἔρημον τὰ πρότερα περιβεβλημένην πολλὴν καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο ἀφύλακτον οὔσαν, τῶν μὲν ἀνόνήτων
αὐτὴν περιόδων ἀπήλλαξεν, ³ ἐπιτομώτερον δὲ ⁴
σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καταστησάμενος ⁵ τὸν περίβολον,
ἕς τε τὸ τῆς χρείας ἀναγκαῖον ξυναγαγὼν
ἐχυρωτάτην τανῦν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα διεπράξατο
14 τὴν πόλιν εἶναι. οὐ δὲ καὶ τότε ἀγαθὸν εἵργασται.
πότιμον ὕδωρ ἐκ μυχῶν τῆς γῆς ἀνεισιν ἐν μέσῃ
P 46 πόλει διηνεκῶς, λίμνην τέ τινα ἐνταῦθα εὐρείαν
15 ποιεῖται. τοῦτο πολεμίων μὲν, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι,
προσεδρευόντων γίνεται τῇ πόλει σωτήριον, ἐν
δὲ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῇ ⁶
ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἔξωθεν εἰσαγομένων ὑδάτων
16 πολλῶν· προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου εἰρήνῃ μακρᾷ
συμβεβιωκότες οἱ τῇδε ὠκημένοι, ἀνάγκης δὲ
οὐδεμιᾶς ἕς πείραν ἐλθόντες, ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τοῦτο
B 237 πεποιήνται. οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν ἀνθρώπου φύσις ὑπὲρ τῶν
οὕτω ⁷ παρόντων κακῶν ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ βουλευέσθαι.
17 ῥύπου τοίνυν τὴν λίμνην ἐνδελεχέστατα ἐνεπλή-
σαντο, νηχόμενοί τε καὶ πλυνοὺς ἐνταῦθα ποιού-
μενοι καὶ ἀπορριπτοῦντες φορυτοὺς ἅπαντας . . .
18 Ἐκεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ
Εὐφρατησίᾳ χωρία, Ζεῦγμά τε καὶ Νεοκαισάρεια,
ἃ δὴ πολίχνηι μὲν ἄχρι ἕς τὸ ὄνομα ἦσαν, τείχεσι

¹ ἐπὶ V, om. A.

² Ἱεράπολιν Dindorf : ἱερὰι πόλιν.

³ ἀπήλλαξεν V, ἀπαλλάξας A.

⁴ δὲ V, τε A

In addition to these he also found Hierapolis,¹ which happens to be the first of all the cities of that region, lying exposed to those who wished to attack it, and by his prudent foresight he assured its safety. Previously it had enclosed a large tract of barren land, and consequently was undefended; so he relieved it of this senseless expanse and made the circuit-wall shorter as well as more safe, reducing it to a measure calculated to meet the actual need of the situation, and thus bringing it about that the city is among the strongest of the present day. Here too he conferred the following benefit. An unfailing supply of drinking-water springs up from the recesses of the earth in the midst of the city and makes a broad lake there. And whenever an enemy chances to lay siege to the place, this water proves the salvation of the city; but in good times the lake becomes unnecessary to it, because abundant water is brought in from outside. And as time went on, the inhabitants of the place, having enjoyed a long-continued peace and experiencing no need, treated this spring with neglect. For in times of prosperity human nature knows not how to take thought against ills not yet at hand. So they kept filling the lake constantly with pollution, both swimming and washing clothes in it and throwing all manner of rubbish into it. . . .

There were also two other towns in this district of Euphratesia, Zeugma and Neocaesarea, which went by the name of fortified towns, but were enclosed by

¹ Bambycê, modern Menbidj.

⁵ καταστησάμενος V, κατασκευάσας A.

⁶ αὐτῇ Maltretus: αὐτῶ.

⁷ οὐπω (or οὐ) added by Capps.

- 19 δὲ περιεβέβληντο αἵμασιās τρόπον. τῷ¹ μὲν γὰρ τῆς οἰκοδομίας κολοβῷ ἐσβᾶτὰ πόνῳ οὐδενὶ² τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγίνετο, ἀδεέστερον ἐς αὐτὰ ἐσπηδᾶν ἔχουσι, τῷ δὲ στενῷ λίαν ἀφύλακτα, οὐκ ἔχόντων τὸ παράπαν τῶν ἐνταῦθα φρουρῶν
20 ὅποι ἂν ἐστῶτες ἀμύνοντο. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τείχεσιν ἀληθέσι περιβαλὼν εὖρους τε καὶ ὕψους ἱκανῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ κρατυνόμενος, πόλεις τε διεπράξατο καλεῖσθαι δικαίως καὶ κρείστους εἶναι τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιβουλῆς.

ι'. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὰς Χοσρόῃ ἀλούσας (ἥνικα ὁ βάρβαρος οὗτος ἀλογήσας τὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ ὁμωμοσμένα ἐν ταῖς ἀπεράντοις σπονδαῖς καὶ τὰ διδόμενά οἱ ἐπ' αὐταῖς χρήματα, καὶ βασκανία μὲν ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα ἐχόμενος, οἷς δὴ Λιβύης τε καὶ Ἰταλίας τῷ πολέμῳ κύριος γέγονε, καὶ τὴν ἐς τὰ ὁμωμοσμένα πίστιν περὶ ἐλάσσονος τῆς ἐς ταῦτα λύσεως πεποιημένος. καιροφυλακήσας δὲ ἀπολελειμμένον ἐν τῇ ἐσπερίᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν³ αὐτάγγελος ἐσβέβληκεν⁴ ἐς Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, ἀνηκόων ἔτι Ῥωμαίων ὄντων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδου), ἐς τοῦτο δὴ μετεστήσατο βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀσφαλείας καὶ κόσμου, ὥστε ἀπάσας εὐδαιμονεστέρας κατὰ πολὺ τανῦν ἢ πρότερον εἶναι, καὶ μηκέτι περὶ⁵ τὰς τῶν κακουργησόντων

¹ τῷ Maltretus: ὦ τῷ.

² οὐδενὶ added by Hoeschel.

³ ἀπολελειμμένον . . . τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατὸν A, ἀπολελειμμένον . . . τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ V.

⁴ ἐσβέβληκεν Haury: βέβληκεν V, ἐσβέβηκεν A.

⁵ περὶ V, πρὸς A.

fortifications resembling walls of loose stones. And because these were made too low when they were built, they were accessible to the enemy without any effort, since they could leap upon them without fear, while their extreme narrowness made them impossible to defend, since the garrison of the town had no place whatever where they might stand and carry on the defence. But the Emperor Justinian surrounded these places too with real walls of adequate breadth and height, and he made them strong in their other equipment, and so brought it about that they are justly called cities and are too well built for hostile attacks.

x. He also turned his attention to the cities which had been captured by Chosroes. (This was when that barbarian ignored the oaths he had sworn at the time of the "endless peace"¹ and the money given him to secure this peace; when he was filled with malice against the Emperor Justinian because he had become master of Italy and of Libya by conquest, and was moved less by the obligation of his oaths than by his rage at the Emperor's successes. So he watched for the right time, and when the greater part of the Roman army was away in the West, he invaded the Roman territory without any previous notice, before the Romans could hear of the approach of the enemy). So the Emperor Justinian transformed these cities to such a state of safety and beauty that they are all much more prosperous at the present time than they were formerly, and no longer need either be fearful of the inroads of the

¹ Procopius has recounted these matters in the *Wars*: on the ἀνέπαυτος εἰρήνη, concluded in the year 532, see I. xxii. 17, on Chosroes' violation of it seven years later see II. iii. 55 ff.; on the towns of the Romans which Chosroes captured, consult the Index at the end of this volume.

βαρβάρων ἐφόδους περιδεεῖς εἶναι, μηδέ τινη μηχανῇ πρὸς τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς ὑπόπτως ἔχειν.

P 47

- 2 Μάλιστα δὲ ἀπασῶν Ἀντιόχειαν, ἣ νῦν Θεού-
πολις ἐπικέκληται, κόσμου τε καὶ ὀχυρώματος
ἐνεπλήσατο πολλῶ μείζονος ἢ πρότερον εἶναι
- 3 ξυνέβαινεν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς τὸ παλαιὸν ὁ
περίβολος μακρὸς τε ὑπεράγαν καὶ περιόδων
πολλῶν ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεως, πῇ μὲν τὰ πεδία
περιβάλλων οὐδενὶ λόγῳ, πῇ δὲ τὰς τῶν σκοπέλων
ὑπερβολάς, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πλείοσιν ἐπιβουλαῖς
- 4 ὑποκείμενος. συστείλας δὲ αὐτὸν Ἰουστινιανὸς
βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὸ χρεῖα ξυνοῖσον, οὐ ταῦτα
φρουρεῖν ἄπερ καὶ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν
- 5 ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς πεποίηκε μόνην. τὰ μὲν γὰρ
κάτω τοῦ περιβόλου, ἔνθα ἡ πόλις ἐπικινδύνως
εὐρύνετο, ἐν μαλακῷ τε πεδίῳ κειμένη καὶ
περιουσία τειχίσματος ἀφύλακτος οὔσα, μετα-
βιβάζει ὡς ἐνδοτάτῳ, ἐπικαιριώτατα στενοχωρήσας
ἐνταῦθα τὴν πόλιν, περιστελλομένην τῷ πεπιέσθαι.
- 6 ποταμὸν δὲ Ὀρόντην, ὅσπερ αὐτὴν παρέρρει ἐν
περίοδοις τὰ πρότερα οὔσαν, διωθήσατο μετα-
πορευθέντα τὸ ρεῖθρον τῷ περιβόλῳ γειτονεῖν,
- 7 αὐθις ὀχεταγωγία τὸν ροῦν ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ περι-
ελίσσας, ταύτῃ τε καὶ τὸ σφαλερὸν τῆς ἀμετρίας
ἀνῆκε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρόντου ἀσφά-
- 8 λειαν ἀνεσώσατο. ἐνταῦθά τε νεοχμώσας γεφύρας
ἐτέρας ζεύγματα τῷ ποταμῷ νέα ἐντέθεικε,
περιαγαγὼν δὲ ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τῆς χρεῖας αὐτόν,

¹ The name was officially changed after the earthquake of A.D. 528 (Malalas, p. 443 Bonn ed.), though the earlier name

villainous barbarians, or apprehensive for any reason of their attacks.

Above all he made Antioch, which is now called Theopolis,¹ both fairer and stronger by far than it had been formerly. In ancient times its circuit-wall was both too long and absolutely full of many turnings, in some places uselessly enclosing the level ground and in others the summits of the mountain, and for this reason it was exposed to attack in a number of places. But the Emperor Justinian, contracting this wall as would best serve the need, carefully remade it so as to guard, not the same districts as before, but only the city itself. As for the lower part of the circuit-wall, where the city was dangerously spread out (since it lay in a soft plain and could not be defended because of a superfluity of wall), he changed its course by drawing it inward as much as possible, most advantageously crowding the city at this point, it having gained protection by being compressed. And the River Orontes, which had flowed past the city, as it formerly was, in a winding course, he thrust over so that it ran in a new bed, hugging the circuit-wall. He did this by winding the stream round again by means of an artificial channel as near the wall as possible. In this way he both relieved the city of the danger arising from its excessive size and recovered the protection afforded by the Orontes. And by building other bridges there he furnished new means of crossing the river; and after changing its stream for as great a

continued in common use. On Procopius's description of the rebuilding of the city, see an article by Downey, "Procopius on Antioch: a Study of Method in the *De aedificiis*," which will be published in *Byzantion*, xiv, part 1.

- εἶτα τὴν προτέραν ἀπέδωκε πορείαν τῷ ρείθρῳ.
 B 239 9 τὰ μέντοι ἄνω ἐς τὸ κρημνῶδες αὐτῷ κατὰ τάδε
 διαπεπόνηται. ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολῇ ἦν περ
 Ὀροκασσιάδα καλοῦσι, πέτρα τις τοῦ τείχους
 ἐκτὸς ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐτύγχανεν οὔσα, ἐξ ἀντιπάλου
 10 τε τοῦ περιβόλου ἐνταῦθα κειμένη καὶ λίαν ἐπι-
 μαχώτατον αὐτὸν τιθεμένη. Χοσρόῃ ἀμέλει ἐν-
 θένδε ἡ πόλις ἐάλω, ἥπερ μοι ἐν λόγοις τοῖς
 ἐπιτηδείοις ἐρρήθη. τὰ δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐντὸς
 11 ἔρημός τε χώρα ἐπὶ πλείστον καὶ δύσοδος ἦν.
 πέτραι γὰρ ὑψηλαὶ καὶ χαράδραι ἀνέκβατοι
 διακεκλήρωνται τὸν χώρον ἐκείνον, ἀδιεξόδους
 τὰς ἐνθένδε ποιούμεναι τρίβους, ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίου
 ἐνταῦθά τις, ἀλλ' οὐ¹ τῶν Ἀντιοχέων τοῦ
 12 τείχους ὄντος. χαίρειν τοίνυν πολλὰ τῇ πέτρᾳ
 φράσας, ἥπερ ἐν γειτόνων τῷ τείχει οὔσα εὐάλωτον
 αὐτὸ διαφανῶς ἐσκαίωρητο, ὡς πορρωτάτῳ αὐτῆς
 περιβάλλειν τὴν πόλιν ἔγνω, ἀβουλίας πέρι τῶν
 13 πρότερον αὐτὴν δειμαμένων ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων
 τῆς πείρας πεποιημένους τὴν μάθησιν. χώραν τε
 ὁμαλὴν μάλιστα τοῦ τείχους ἐντὸς τὴν τὰ πρό-
 14 τερα κρημνώδη οὔσαν ἀπεργασάμενος, ἀνόδους
 ταύτῃ πεποιήται οὐχ ὅσον ἀνδράσι πεζοῖς, ἀλλὰ
 δὴ καὶ ἵππευσι βασίμους, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ἀμαξηλά-
 15 14 15 τούς τὸ λοιπὸν οὔσας. ἀλλὰ καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ
 ὑδάτων ταμιεῖα ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι πεποιήται τούτοις
 τοῦ τείχους ἐντός. φρέαρ τε ὠρυξεν ἐν πύργῳ
 ἐκάστῳ, τὴν πρότερον ἀνυδρίαν ἐνταῦθα οὔσαν
 ὑδασιν ὑετίοις ἰώμενος.
- 15 Ὅσα δὲ καὶ ἀμφὶ τῷ χειμάρρῳ πεποιήται, ὅς

¹ ἀλλ' οὐ Haury, ἄλλου.

distance as was necessary, he then restored it to its former course. The upper part,¹ in the mountainous portion, he managed as follows: on the summit of the mountain which they call Orocassias² there happened to be a rock outside the wall and very close to it, nearly matching in height the circuit-wall in this place and making it quite vulnerable. It was from this point in fact that the city was taken by Chosroes, as is related in my description of the event.³ The region within the circuit-wall was for the most part bare and difficult to traverse, for high rocks and impassable ravines divide up that district, so that the paths from that place have no outlet. Thus the wall there is just as if it belonged to some other city and not to Antioch at all. So he bade a long farewell to the rock, which, being close to the wall, was fiendishly devised to make the wall easy to capture, and decided to build the defences of the city as far away from it as possible, having learned from the experience of events the folly of those who had built the city in former times. Moreover he made quite level the region within the wall, which formerly had been precipitous, building ascents there which would in the future be passable, not only for men on foot, but for cavalry, and would even serve as waggon-roads. He also built baths and reservoirs on these hills inside the wall. And he dug a cistern in each tower, remedying by means of rain-water the want of water which had previously existed there.

It is proper to describe also what he did with the

¹ *I.e.* of the circuit-wall.

² So named with reference to Mt. Casius, the principal peak of the range which comes to an end at Antioch.

³ *Wars*, II. viii. 8 ff.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- P 48 ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ὀρέων κάτεισιν, εἰπεῖν ἄξιον.
 ὄρη μὲν ἀπότομα δύο τῇ πόλει ἐπῆρται, ἀλλήλοιν
 16 ξυνιόντα ὡς ἀγχοτάτω. τούτων¹ θάτερον μὲν
 Β 240 Ὀροκασσιάδα καλοῦσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ ἕτερον Σταυρὶν
 κέκληται. ἀπολήγοντα δέ πη αὐτὰ νάπη τις
 ζεύγνυσι καὶ χαράδρα μεταξὺ οὔσα, χειμάρρουν
 ἀποτελοῦσα, ἐπειδὴν ὕοι, Ὀνοπνίκτην ὄνομα,
 ὃς δὴ ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων κατιῶν ὑπερθέν τε τοῦ
 περιβόλου φερόμενος ἐπὶ μέγα τε, ἂν οὕτω τύχη,
 ἐξανιστάμενος, διεσκεδάννυτο μὲν ἐς τοὺς τῆς
 πόλεως στενωπούς, ἀνήκεστα δὲ κακὰ τοὺς
 17 ταύτη ὠκνημένους εἰργάζετο. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου
 τὴν ἄκεσιν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς εὖρατο τρόπον
 τοιῷδε. πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου ὄνπερ ἀγχιστα τῆς
 χαράδρας ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἐξ ἧς ὁ χειμάρρους ἐπὶ
 τὸ τεῖχισμα ἔετο, τοῖχον ἐδείματο ὑπερμεγέθη,
 ἐκ κοίλης χαράδρας διήκοντα ἐς ἐκάτερον τοῖν
 ὀροῖν μάλιστα, ὡς μηκέτι περαιτέρω ἰέναι
 κυματοῦντι τῷ ποταμῷ δυνατὰ εἶη, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
 18 μακρότερον ξυνιστάμενος ἐνταῦθα λιμνάζοι. ἐν δὲ
 τῷ τοίχῳ θυρίδας ποιησάμενος ἐνθένδε ἀπορρέοντα
 ὑπολήγειν κατὰ βραχὺ ἀνάγκη χειροποιήτῳ τὸν
 χειμάρρουν διεσκευάσατο, οὐκέτι λάβρως τῷ παντὶ
 ῥεύματι τῷ περιβόλῳ προσβάλλοντα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 ὑπερβλύζοντά τε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατεργαζόμενον,
 ἀλλὰ πρᾶως τε καὶ προσηνῶς ὑπορρέοντα, ἥπερ μοι
 εἴρηται, ταύτῃ τε τῇ ἐκροῇ διὰ τῆς ὀχεταγωγίας
 ἰόντα ὅποι ἂν αὐτὸν βουλομένοις ἢ περιάγειν οὕτω
 μέτριον γεγεννημένον τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις.

¹ For τούτων Haury would prefer τούτοις.

¹ "The Cross"; this name apparently originated from the vision of the holy cross which appeared over a part of the

torrent which comes down from these mountains. Two precipitous mountains rise above the city, approaching each other quite closely. Of these they call the one Orocassias and the other is called Staurin.¹ Where they come to an end they are joined by a glen and ravine which lies between them, which produces a torrent, when it rains, called Onopnictes.² This, coming down from a height, swept over the circuit-wall and on occasion rose to a great volume, spreading into the streets of the city and doing ruinous damage to those who lived in that district. But even for this the Emperor Justinian found the remedy, in the following way: Before that part of the circuit-wall which happens to lie nearest to the ravine out of which the torrent was borne against the fortifications, he built an immense wall or dam, which reached roughly from the hollow bed of the ravine to each of the two mountains, so that the stream should no longer be able to sweep on when it was at full flood, but should collect for a considerable distance back and form a lake there. And by constructing sluice-gates in this wall he contrived that the torrent, flowing through these, should lose its force gradually, checked by this artificial barrier, and no longer violently assault the circuit-wall with its full stream, and so overflow it and damage the city, but should gently and evenly glide on in the manner I have described and, with this means of outflow, should proceed through the channel wherever the inhabitants of former times would have wished to conduct it if it had been so manageable.

city after the earthquake of A.D. 526 (Malalas, p. 421 Bonn ed.).

¹ "Donkey-drowner," with reference to its violence. Other writers call the torrent Parmenius.

- 19 Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῷ Ἀντιοχείας περιβόλῳ
τῇδε Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἰργασται. καὶ ξύμ-
πασαν δὲ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων καταφλεχθεῖσαν
20 ἀνωκοδομήσατο τὴν πόλιν αὐτός. τετεφρωμένων
γὰρ πανταχόσε καὶ καθηρημένων ἀπάντων, λόφων
τε μόνον ἐκ πόλεως ἐξηνθρακωμένης ἐπανεστη-
κότων πολλῶν, ἄπορον τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν ἐγένετο
τὴν τε χώραν ἐπιγνῶναι τῆς ἐκάστου ἰδίας
οἰκίας¹ γενομένης τὰ πρῶτα ἐκφορήσασι² τὸ
B 241 συμπτωθὲν ἅπαν, οἰκίας τε πυρκαϊᾶς περι-
καθῆραι τὰ λείψανα, ἔτι μέντοι δημοσίων στοῶν
ἢ περιστύλων αὐλῶν οὐδαμῇ οὐσῶν, οὐδὲ ἀγο-
ρᾶς πη καθισταμένης, οὐδὲ τῶν στενωπῶν τὰς
ἀγνίας διαιρούντων τῇ πόλει, οἰκίας τινὸς οἰκοδο-
21 μίαν ἀπαυθαδιάσασθαι. ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς οὐδεμιᾶ
μελλήσει ὥς ἀπωτάτῳ τῆς πόλεως τὰ καθηρημένα
μετενεγκών, ἐλεύθερόν τε τὸν ταύτῃ ἀέρα ξὺν
τοῖς ἔνερθεν τῶν ἐνοχλούντων καταστησάμενος,
πρῶτα μὲν τὰ ἐδάφη πανταχόθι τῆς πόλεως λίθοις
22 ἀμαξιαίοις ἐκάλυψεν. ἔπειτα δὲ στοαῖς τε καὶ
ἀγοραῖς αὐτὴν διακρίνας, καὶ διελὼν μὲν τοῖς
στενωποῖς ἀμφόδους ἀπάσας, ὀχετοὺς δὲ καὶ
κρήνας καὶ ὑδροχόας καταστησάμενος, ὅσοις ἢ
πόλις κεκόμψευται, θέατρά τε αὐτῇ καὶ βαλανεῖα
πεποιημένος, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις δημοσίαις οἰκοδο-
μίαις ἀπάσαις κοσμήσας, αἷσπερ εὐδαιμονία δια-
φαίνεσθαι πόλεως εἴωθε. τεχνιτῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιδη-

¹ οἰκίας added by Haury.

² πρῶτα ἐκφορήσασι Haury for πρῶτα. ἐκφορήσας οὖν.

¹ For the meaning of the word, cf. *Secret History*, xxii. 14.

This, then, was what the Emperor Justinian accomplished concerning the circuit-wall of Antioch. He also rebuilt the whole city, which had been completely burned by the enemy. For since everything was everywhere reduced to ashes and levelled to the ground, and since many mounds of ruins were all that was left standing of the burned city, it became impossible for the people of Antioch to recognise the site of each person's house, when first they carried out all the debris, and to clear out the remains of a burned house; and since there were no longer public stoas or colonnaded courts in existence anywhere, nor any market-place remaining, and since the side-streets no longer marked off the thoroughfares of the city, they did not any longer dare to build any house. But the Emperor without any delay transported the debris as far as possible from the city, and thus freed the air and the ground of all encumbrances; then he first of all covered the cleared land of the city everywhere with stones each large enough to load a waggon. Next he laid it out with stoas and market-places, and dividing all the blocks of houses by means of streets, and making water-channels and fountains and sewers,¹ all those of which the city now boasts, he built theatres and baths for it, ornamenting it with all the other public buildings by means of which the prosperity of a city is wont to be shewn.² He also, by bringing in a multitude of

² Cf. Pausanias, X. iv. 1, translated by W. H. S. Jones in the Loeb Classical Library: "From Chaeroneia it is twenty stades to Panopeus, a city of the Phocians, if one can give the name of city to those who possess no government offices, no gymnasium, no theatre, no market-place, no water descending to a fountain, but live in bare shelters just like mountain cabins, right on a ravine."

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- P 49 μιούργων πλήθος ἐπαγαγὼν ῥᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώ-
 23 τερον τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι παρέσχετο δείμασθαι τὰς
 αὐτῶν ἰδίας οἰκίας. οὕτω τε Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπι-
 24 φανεστέραν γεγονέναι τανῦν ἢ πρότερον ἦν ξυν-
 ηνέχθη. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὸν ἐνταῦθα τῇ θεοτόκῳ
 πεποιήται μέγα, οὗ δὴ τό τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ
 ἐς ἅπαντα μεγαλοπρεπὲς ἐπελθεῖν λόγῳ ἀμήχανον.
 25 ὁ δὴ καὶ προσόδῳ ἐτίμησε χρημάτων μεγάλων.
 ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Μιχαὴλ τῷ ἀρχαγγέλῳ νεῶν παμ-
 μεγέθη ἐδείματο. προὐνόησε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀρρωστή-
 26 μασι πονουμένων ἐνταῦθα πτωχῶν, οἰκία τε
 σφίσι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τῶν νοση-
 27 μάτων ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐν ἐπιτηδεΐῳ καταστησάμενος
 ἅπαντα, χωρὶς μὲν ἀνδράσι, χωρὶς δὲ γυναιξί,
 καὶ οὐδέν τι ἥσσον τοῖς ξένοις ἐπὶ καιροῦ γενομένοις
 ἐνταῦθα ἐνδήμοις.

B 242

- ια'. Οὕτω δὲ καὶ Χαλκίδος πόλεως τὸν περί-
 28 βολον, ἐπισφαλῶς τε ἀρχὴν γεγονότα καὶ ὑπὸ
 τῶν ἐτῶν κατερρακωμένον, σὺν τῷ προτειχίς-
 29 ματι¹ ἀνανεωσάμενός τε καὶ πολλῶ ἐχυρώ-
 τερον καταστησάμενος ἢ πρότερον ἦν, ἐς τὸν
 νῦν φαινόμενον πεποιήται τρόπον.
 2 Ἦν δέ τι ἐπὶ Συρίας κομιδῇ ἀπημελημένον
 πολίχνιον, Κῦρος ὄνομα, ὅπερ Ἰουδαῖοι ἐν τοῖς

¹ προτειχίσματι V, τειχίσματι A.

¹ The restoration of the circuit-wall and the outworks of Chalcis is also described a little below, in section 8. One of the passages must refer to the Chalcis (modern Kinnesrin) which is south-west of Beroea (Aleppo), for two Greek inscriptions found at this Chalcis record extensive building operations executed there, evidently on the circuit-wall, in

artisans and craftsmen, made it more easy and less laborious for the inhabitants to build their own houses. Thus it was brought about that Antioch has become more splendid now than it formerly was. Moreover, he built there a great Church to the Mother of God. The beauty of this, and its magnificence in every respect, it is impossible to describe; he also honoured it with an income of a very large sum. Moreover, he built an immense Church for the Archangel Michael. He made provision likewise for the poor of the place who were suffering from maladies, providing buildings for them and all the means for the care and cure of their ailments, for men and women separately, and he made no less provision for strangers who might on occasion be staying in the city.

xi. In the same manner he also repaired the circuit-wall of the city of Chalcis, which had been faultily built in the first place and had been wrecked by the years; he restored this along with the out-works and rendered it much more defensible than before, and gave it the form which we now see.¹

There was a certain utterly neglected fortress in Syria, Cyrus by name,² which the Jews built in early

A.D. 550-1; cf. W. K. Prentice, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions* (Publ. of an Amer. Arch. Exp. to Syria, III, New York, 1908), nos. 305-306, and Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, VII (1906), pp. 228-230, and VIII (1924), pp. 81-88. Another Chalcis (modern Andjar) lies between Beyrouth and Damascus. The passages may refer to the two places, which Procopius may have confused; or he may have intended to note the distinction, but neglected to do so. It is more likely that both passages refer to Kinnesrin; Procopius may have written the entry twice in his manuscript either intentionally or accidentally, neglecting later to delete one passage.

¹ Modern Chorres.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ἄνω χρόνοις ἐδείμαντο, δορυάλωτοι μὲν ἐκ
 Παλαιστίνης ἐς τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν ἀποκεκομισμένοι
 πρὸς¹ τοῦ Μήδων στρατοῦ, παρὰ Κύρου δὲ
 βασιλέως ἀφειμένοι πολλῶ ὕστερον· διὸ δὴ καὶ
 Κῦρον τὸ χωρίον ἐκάλεσαν,² ταῦτα τῷ εὐεργέτῃ
 3 ἐκτίνοντες χαριστήρια. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου
 ἡ Κῦρος τὰ τε ἄλλα ὑπερώφθη καὶ ἀτείχιστος
 4 ὅλως μεμένηκεν. ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς
 ἅμα μὲν πρόνοιαν τῆς πολιτείας ποιούμενος,
 ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγίους Κοσμᾶν τε καὶ Δαμιανὸν
 τὰ μάλιστα σέβων, ὧν δὴ ἄγχιστά πη τὰ σώματα
 καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ κείμεναι, πόλιν εὐδαίμονα καὶ λόγου
 ἀξίαν πολλοῦ, τείχους τε ἀσφαλείᾳ ἐχυρωτάτου
 καὶ φρουρῶν πλήθει καὶ οἰκοδομιῶν δημοσίων
 μεγέθει, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς τῷ ἐς ἄγαν
 5 μεγαλοπρεπεῖ, πεποιήται Κῦρον. ταύτης δὲ τῆς
 πόλεως τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς ὕδατος ἄπορα ἐκ παλαιοῦ
 ἦν, ἔκτοσθε δὲ ὑπερφυῆς τις ἐγεγόνει πηγὴ, περιου-
 σία μὲν πλήθους ποτίμων ὑδάτων, ἀνόνητος δὲ
 τοῖς τῇδε ὠκημένοις παντάπασιν οὔσα, ἐπεὶ οὐκ
 εἶχον ὅθεν ἂν ἐνθένδε ἀρύοιντο ὕδωρ, ὅτι μὴ πόνῳ
 6 τε καὶ κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ. περιόδοις τε γὰρ
 B 243 αὐτόσε ἰοῦσιν ἀναγκαῖον ἐγίνετο χρῆσθαι, κρημνώ-
 δους χωρίου καὶ ὅλως ἀβάτου μεταξὺ ὄντος·
 καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, ἐνεδρεύου-
 P 50 7 σιν ὑποχείριοι ῥᾶστα ἐγίνοντο. διώρυχα τοίνυν
 ἔκτοσθε τῆς πόλεως ἄχρι ἐς τὴν κρήνην οὐκ
 ἀπαρακαλύπτως, ἀλλὰ κεκρυμμένως ὥς ἐνι μάλιστα
 πεποιημένος, ἄπονόν τε αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀκίνδυνον τὴν
 τοῦ ὕδατος παρέσχετο χρεῖαν.

¹ πρὸς V, παρὰ A.

² ἐκάλεσαν V, ὠνόμασαν A

times, when they had been carried off as captives from Palestine into Assyria by the army of the Medes and were released much later by King Cyrus;¹ and for this reason they named the place Cyrus, paying this tribute of gratitude to their benefactor. And as time went on this place came to be neglected in general and remained altogether without walls. But the Emperor Justinian, both out of his forethought for the safety of the State, and at the same time as shewing especial honour to the Saints Cosmas and Damian, whose bodies lie close by even up to my day, made Cyrus a flourishing city and one of great note through the safety afforded by the strongest possible wall, by the great strength of its garrison, by the size of its public buildings, and by the imposing scale of its other appointments. The interior of this city had been destitute of water from ancient times; outside of it there had been a certain extraordinary spring which provided a great abundance of water fit for drinking, yet it was utterly useless to the inhabitants of the city, since they had no means of drawing water from the spring except with great toil and danger. For it was necessary, in order to get to it, for them to make use of circuitous paths, since a steep and altogether impassable area lay between; thus they could easily fall into the hands of the enemy if they should happen to lie in ambush. So he dug a channel outside the city all the way to the spring, not allowing it to be seen, but concealing it as carefully as possible, and thus he provided the inhabitants with a supply of water without toil or risk.

¹ In 537 B.C.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 8 Καὶ Χαλκίδος δὲ πόλεως τὸν περίβολον ὅλον,
 ἔς τε τὸ ἔδαφος καθειμένον καὶ ἄλλως ἀφύλακτον
 ὄντα ἐχυρῶ διαφερόντως ἀνενεώσατο οἰκοδομία,
 9 καὶ προτειχίσματι ἐκρατύνατο.¹ ἔτι μέντοι καὶ
 τὰ ἄλλα Σύρων πολίσματά τε καὶ φρούρια
 τὸν αὐτὸν κεκοσμηκῶς τρόπον ζηλωτὰ ἐπιεικῶς
 κατεστήσατο.
- 10 Οὕτω μὲν Συρίαν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ
 ἀσφαλεῖ διεσώσατο. πόλις δέ πού ἐστιν ἐπὶ
 Φοινίκης τῆς παρὰ Λίβανον, Παλμύρα ὄνομα,
 ἐν χώρῳ μὲν πεποιημένη τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις
 ἀγείτονι, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων Σαρακη-
 11 νῶν διόδου κειμένη. τούτου γὰρ δὴ αὐτὴν ἔνεκα
 καὶ ὠκοδομήσαντο πρότερον, ὥς μὴ λάθοιεν
 οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι ἐξάπινα ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη
 12 ἐμβάλλοντες. ταύτην βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς διὰ
 χρόνου μῆκος ἔρημον ἐπὶ πλείστον γεγενη-
 μένην ὀχυρώμασί τε λόγου μείζουσιν ἐπιρρώσας,
 πρὸς δὲ καὶ ὑδάτων περιουσίας καὶ φυλακτηρίου
 στρατιωτῶν ἐμπλησάμενος, τὰς τῶν Σαρακηνῶν
 ἐπιδρομὰς ἀνεχαίτισεν.

B 244

ΛΟΓΟΣ Γ'

P 51

P 52

α'. Χώραν μὲν² τὴν ἐῷαν οὕτως Ἰουστινιανὸς
 βασιλεὺς ὀχυρώμασιν ἐκρατύνατο, ἥπερ μοι ἐν
 τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ ἐρρήθη. ἀρξαμένῳ δέ μοι
 ἐκ τῶν παρὰ Πέρσας ὀρίων τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς

¹ καὶ . . . ἐκρατύνατο: Haury would delete as repetition of section 1 above.

² μὲν A, μέντοι V.

Also he restored the entire circuit-wall of the city of Chalcis, which had fallen down to the ground and anyhow was unsuitable for defence, by means of exceptionally stout masonry, and he strengthened it with outworks.¹ Furthermore, he improved the other towns and forts of the Syrians in the same manner and made them altogether objects of envy.

Thus did the Emperor Justinian assure the safety of Syria. And there is a city in Phoenicia by Lebanon,² Palmyra by name, built in a neighbourless region by men of former times, but well situated across the track of the hostile Saracens. Indeed it was for this very reason that they had originally built this city, in order, namely, that these barbarians might not unobserved make sudden inroads into the Roman territory. This city, which through lapse of time had come to be almost completely deserted, the Emperor Justinian strengthened with defences which defy description, and he also provided it with abundant water and a garrison of troops, and thus put a stop to the raids of the Saracens.

BOOK III

i. Thus the Emperor Justinian strengthened the territory of the East with fortifications, as I have set forth in the preceding Book. And since I began at the Persian frontier of the Roman Empire in

¹ See the note on section I above.

² *I.e.* in the province of Phoenicê Libanensis.

- περιηγείσθαι τὰ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐρύματα γεγενη-
 μένα, οὗ μοι ἀπὸ καιροῦ ἔδοξεν εἶναι ἐπὶ τοὺς
 Ἀρμενίους ἐνθὲνδε ἰέναι, οἳ δὴ ἐκ πόλεως Ἀμίδης
 ἄχρι ἐς Θεοδοσιούπολιν τὴν ἑτέραν προσοικοῦσι
 2 Πέρσαις. μέλλοντι δέ μοι τῶν ἐκείνη οἰκοδο-
 μημάτων ἐπιμνησθῆναι προυργιαίτατον φαίνεται
 εἶναι ὑπειπεῖν πρότερον ὄντινα δὴ τρόπον σφαλερῶς
 ἄγαν βιοτεύοντας τοὺς Ἀρμενίους ὁ βασιλεὺς
 οὗτος ἐς τὴν παρούσαν ἀσφάλειαν βεβαιότατα
 3 μεθηρμόσατο. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὅσον οἰκοδομίαις τού-
 τους τοὺς κατηκόους ἐσώσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ
 ἄλλῃ προνοίᾳ, ἥπερ μοι αὐτίκα μάλα γεγράψεται.
 ἀρκτέον δὲ μικρὸν ἄνωθεν.
 B 245 4 Βασιλεὺς μὲν ὁμογενὴς πάλαι τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις
 καθίστατο, ἥπερ τοῖς ἀναγραψαμένοις τῶν ἱστοριῶν
 5 τὰ ἀρχαιότατα δεδιήγηται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀλέ-
 ξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα καθεῖλε,
 Πέρσαι μὲν δεδουλωμένοι ἡσυχῇ ἔμενον, Πάρθοι
 δὲ Μακεδόσιν ἐπαναστάντες καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ
 περιγενόμενοι ἐξήλασάν τε αὐτοὺς ἐνθὲνδε καὶ
 τὰ μέχρι ἐς Τίγριν ποταμὸν ἔσχον, ὑπ' αὐτοῖς τε
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἐς ἔτη πεντακόσια ἔκειτο τὰ Περσῶν
 πράγματα, ἕως Ῥωμαίοις ὁ Μαμαίας Ἀλέξανδρος
 6 βασιλεὺς γέγονε. καί ποτέ τις τῶν ἐν Πάρθοις
 βασιλέων τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ¹ Ἀρμενίοις
 βασιλέα κατεστήσατο, Ἀρσάκην ὄνομα, ὥσπερ ἡ
 τῶν Ἀρμενίων ἱστορία φησί. μὴ γάρ τις Ἀρ-
 7 μενίους τοὺς Ἀρσακίδας οἰέσθω εἶναι. εἰρήνην
 γοῦν αὐτοῖς ἐς ἔτη τὰ² πεντακόσια κατὰ τὸ

¹ τὸν αὐτοῦ Dindorf, τοῦ αὐτοῦ V, αὐτοῦ A.

² τὰ V, om. A.

BUILDINGS III. i. 1-7

describing the defences built by him, it has seemed to me not inappropriate to pass on from there to Armenia, which adjoins Persia from the city of Amida as far as the second Theodosiopolis.¹ But now that I am about to mention the buildings of that region, it seems to me highly opportune to describe first how this Emperor brought the Armenians out of a very precarious way of life into their present state of complete safety. For it was not by means of buildings alone that he saved these subjects of his, but also by his foresight in other matters, as I shall presently shew. But I must go back a little to begin.

The Armenians of ancient times used to have a king of their own race, as is recorded by those who have written the history of the earliest period. And when Alexander of Macedon overthrew the King of the Persians, the Persians remained quietly in subjection, but the Parthians rose against the Macedonians and overcoming them in the struggle, drove them out of the country and gained the territory as far as the Tigris River, and the Persian state remained subject to them after that for five hundred years, until Alexander, son of Mamaea,² became Emperor of the Romans. At one time, one of the kings of the Parthians appointed his brother, Arsaces by name, King of the Armenians, as the history of the Armenians declares. I say this lest anyone think the descendants of Arsaces are Armenians. At least peace continued between them for these five hundred years because of the kinship.

¹ *I.e.* as distinguished from the Theodosiopolis on the Aborrhias mentioned above, II. ii. 16, vi. 13; see further below, Chap. v. 2.

² Alexander Severus, A.D. 222-235.

- 8 ξυγγενὲς διαγέγονε. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἀρμενίων
 βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ καλουμένῃ καθ-
 ῆστο, τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι ἐκ παλαιοῦ
 ὑποχείριος ὢν, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον παῖδες ἐγέ-
 νοντο Ἀρσάκη τινὶ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεῖ δύο, Τιγ-
 9 ράνης τε καὶ Ἀρσάκης ὀνόματα. ὅσπερ, ἐπεὶ
 ἔμελλε τὸν βίον διαμετρήσασθαι, διαθήκας τιθεῖς,
 ἅμφω τῷ παῖδε ποιεῖται διαδόχους αὐτῷ τῆς
 ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἰσοστάσιον διορίσας ἑκατέρῳ τὸ
 κράτος, ἀλλὰ τῷ¹ Τιγράνῃ τετραπλασίαν ἀπο-
 10 λιπὼν μοῖραν. Ἀρσάκης μὲν οὖν ὁ πατὴρ
 οὕτω βασιλείαν διοικησάμενος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
 ἠφάνιστο, Ἀρσάκης δὲ ὁ παῖς, ἐφ' οἷς δὴ αὐτῷ
 ἐλασσοῦσθαι ξυνέβη ἀγανακτῶν τε καὶ δυσφοροῦ-
 μενος ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορα τὸ πρᾶγμα
 ἤγε, τοῦ τε ἀδελφοῦ καταλῦσαι τὴν βασιλείαν
 B 246 μηχανῇ πάσῃ ἐλπίδα ἔχων καὶ ἀδικον οὔσαν τὴν
 11 πατρὸς γνώμην ἀβέβαιον καταστήσεσθαι. Θεοδό-
 σιος δὲ τότε, Ἀρκαδίου υἱὸς ἔτι παῖς ὢν κομιδῇ,
 Ῥωμαίων ἦρχε. τίσιν τε δειμαίνων τὴν ἐκ
 βασιλέως Τιγράνης Πέρσαις αὐτὸν ἐνεχείρισε,
 τὴν βασιλείαν παραδιδούς, περὶ πλείονός τε
 πεποιημένος ἰδιώτης ἐν Πέρσαις εἶναι ἢ πρὸς
 τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὰ δίκαια θέσθαι καὶ συμβασιλεύειν
 P 53 12 Ἀρμενίων αὐτῷ ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως. καὶ Ἀρσά-
 κης δὲ οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν τὴν ἐκ Περσῶν τε καὶ τ'
 ἀδελφοῦ ἐπιβουλήν δείσας ἐξέστη τῆς βασιλείας
 τῆς αὐτοῦ Θεοδοσίῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐπὶ ξυνθή-
 καις τιςὶν αἷ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων
 13 δεδήλωνται λόγοις. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα περι-
 μάχητος Ῥωμαίοις τε καὶ Πέρσαις ἢ τῶν Ἀρμενίων

¹ τῷ V, om. A.

And the King of the Armenians had his seat in Greater Armenia, as it was called, being subject to the Roman Emperor from an early period; but at a later time two sons were born to a certain Arsaces, King of Armenia, Tigranes and Arsaces by name. When this king was about to reach the end of his life, he made a will in which he made both of the boys his successors in the kingdom, not assigning an equal weight of power to each of them, but leaving to Tigranes a four-fold portion. So the father Arsaces, having made this disposition of the royal power, departed from the world, but his son Arsaces, being resentful and angry because his portion proved to be inferior, laid the matter before the Roman Emperor, hoping that by using every device he might destroy the power of his brother and nullify his father's purpose as being unjust. At that time Theodosius, son of Arcadius,¹ who was still quite a boy, was ruling over the Romans. And Tigranes, fearing the vengeance of the Emperor, placed himself in the power of the Persians and handed over his kingdom to them, considering it preferable to live as a private individual among the Persians, than to make a fair settlement with his brother and with him to rule over the Armenians righteously and justly. Arsaces meanwhile still feared the hostility of the Persians and of his brother and resigned his own kingship in favour of the Emperor Theodosius, on certain conditions which I have described in the Books on the Wars.² And for a time the territory of the Armenians was fought over by the Romans and the Persians, but at length

¹ Ascended the throne in 408 after Christ.

² II. iii. 35.

- γεγένηται χώρα, ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ ξυνέβησαν, Πέρσας
 μὲν τὴν Τιγράνου μοῖραν, Ῥωμαίους δὲ τὴν
 14 Ἀρσάκου ἔχειν. ἐπὶ τούτοις τε σπονδαὶ ἀμ-
 φοτέροις ξυνετελέσθησαν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ὁ Ῥωμαίων
 βασιλεὺς ἄρχοντα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις αἰὲ καθίστη
 ὄντινά ποτε καὶ ὀπηνίκα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ
 15 εἴη. κόμητά τε Ἀρμενίας ἐκάλουν καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ
 τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦτον.
- 16 Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ οὐχ οἶα τε ἦν ἡ τοιαύτη ἀρχὴ ἀπο-
 κρούεσθαι τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους, οὐ παρόν-
 των αὐτῇ¹ στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων, κατανενοη-
 κῶς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς οὕτως ἀτάκτως τὴν
 Ἀρμενίαν αἰὲ φερομένην, ταύτη τε τοῖς βαρβάροις
 εὐάλωτον οὔσαν, ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνθéndε
 καθεῖλε, στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἐπέστησε,
 στρατιωτικῶν τε καταλόγων αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο
 17 ἀντιτάξασθαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ
 καλουμένῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ διωκῆσατο ὧδε, τῇ δὲ
 ἄλλῃ Ἀρμενίᾳ, ἥπερ ἐντὸς Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ
 B 247 οὔσα διήκει ἐς Ἀμιδαν πόλιν, σατράπαι ἐφειστή-
 κεισαν Ἀρμένιοι πέντε, καὶ κατὰ γένος μὲν
 ἐς αἰὲ ἐς² τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐκαλοῦντο ταύτας, ἐχόμενοι
 18 αὐτῶν ἄχρι ἐς θάνατον. σύμβολα μέντοι αὐτῶν
 πρὸς τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως ἐδέχοντο μόνον.
 ἄξιον δὲ τὰ σύμβολα ταῦτα δηλῶσαι λόγῳ, ἐπεὶ
 19 οὐκέτι ἐς ἀνθρώπου ὄψιν ἀφίξεται. χλαμὺς ἡ
 ἐξ ἐρίων πεποιημένη, οὐχ οἶα τῶν προβατίων
 ἐκπέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ θαλάσσης συνειλεγμένων.
 20 πίννους τὰ ζῶα καλεῖν νενομίκασιν, ἐν οἷς ἡ τῶν
 ἐρίων ἐκφύσις γίνεται. χρυσῷ δὲ ἡ τῆς πορφύρας

¹ αὐτῇ V, αὐτῷ A.

they reached an agreement that the Persians should hold the portion of Tigranes and the Romans that of Arsaces. On these conditions a truce was agreed upon by both sides and thereafter the Roman Emperor always appointed a ruler for the Armenians, whom-ever he wished and whenever he wished. And they used to call this ruler even to my time the Count of Armenia.

Such a government, however, was not able to repel the attacks of its enemies, since it had at its disposal no regular troops, and therefore the Emperor Justinian, observing that Armenia was always in a state of disorder and was, for this reason, an easy prey for the barbarians, abolished this form of administration and placed a general in charge of Armenia and assigned to him military forces sufficient to withstand the inroads of the enemy. Such was the disposition he made for Greater Armenia, as it is called, but in the other Armenia, which extends inside of the Euphrates River as far as the city of Amida,¹ five Armenian satraps held the power, and these offices were always hereditary and held for life. However, they received the symbols of office only from the Roman Emperor. It is worth while to describe these insignia, for they will never again be seen by man. There is a cloak made of wool, not such as is produced by sheep, but gathered from the sea. *Pinnos*² the creature is called on which this wool grows. And the part where the purple

¹ I.e. west and north of it.

² A bivalve which grows a silky beard. The usual form of word is *πίννα*.

² ἐς before τὰς added by Maltretus.

- κατηλήλειπτο μοῖρα, ἐφ' ἧς εἴωθεν ἡ τῆς ἀλουργίδος ἐμβολὴ γίνεσθαι. περόνη χρυσῇ τῇ χλαμύδι ἐπέκειτο, λίθον ἐπὶ μέσῃ περιφράττουσά τινα ἔντιμον, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ ὑάκινθοι τρεῖς χρυσαῖς τε καὶ 21 χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἀλύσεσιν ἀπεκρέμαντο. χιτῶν ἐκ μετάξης ἐγκαλλωπίσμασι χρυσοῖς πανταχόθεν ὠραῖσμένος ἃ δὴ νενομίκασι πλούμια καλεῖν. 22 ὑποδήματα μέχρι ἐς γόνυ φοινικοῦ χρώματος, ἃ ¹ δὴ βασιλέα μόνον Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Περσῶν ὑποδεῖσθαι θέμις. 23 Στρατιώτης δὲ Ῥωμαῖος οὔτε τῷ Ἀρμενίων βασιλεῖ οὔτε σατράπαις ἤμυνε πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τὰ 24 πολέμια κατὰ μόνας αὐτοὶ διωκοῦντο. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος βασιλεύοντος Ἰλλοῦ τε καὶ Λεοντίῳ τετυραννηκόσιν ἐπὶ βασιλέα διαφανῶς 25 συντάσσεσθαί τινες τῶν σατραπῶν ἔγνωσαν. διὸ δὴ Λεόντιόν τε καὶ Ἰλλοῦν Ζήνων βασιλεὺς ὑποχειρίους πεποιημένος, σατράπην μὲν ἕνα φαυλοτάτην ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα λόγου ἀξίαν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Βελαβιτίνῃ καλουμένη ἐπὶ τοῦ 26 προτέρου σχήματος εἶασε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς καθελὼν ἅπαντας οὐκέτι ἐς τοὺς κατὰ γένος σφίσι προσήκοντας ξυνεχώρησε τὰς ἀρχὰς φέρεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐτέρους αἰὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεσθαι διώρισε ταύτην, οὗς ἂν βουλομένῳ βασιλεῖ εἶη, 27 ὥσπερ ἐφ' ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἄλλαις διώρισται Ῥωμαίων ἀρχαῖς. στρατιῶται μέντοι οὐδ' ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτοῖς εἶποντο, ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων τινές,

¹ ἃ Maltretus: ὁ.

¹ The description is obscure, and the precise meaning of ἐμβολή is unknown; see Haury's *Index Graecitatis*. But the

should have been, that is, where the insertion of purple cloth is usually made, is overlaid with gold.¹ The cloak was fastened by a golden brooch in the middle of which was a precious stone from which hung three sapphires by loose golden chains. There was a tunic of silk adorned in every part with decorations of gold which they are wont to call *plumia*.² The boots were of red colour and reached to the knee, of the sort which only the Roman Emperor and the Persian King are permitted to wear.

Roman soldiers, however, never fought under the orders of the king of the Armenians or of the satraps, but these rulers conducted their wars independently. But at a later time, during the reign of Zeno,³ some of the satraps decided to array themselves openly with Illus and Leontius, who had revolted against the Emperor. Consequently, when the Emperor had reduced Leontius and Illus to subjection, he left in the former status only one satrap, who held a very inferior province which was not of any importance, in the region called Belabitinê; all the others he removed and no longer permitted them to transmit the office to those connected with them by kinship, but he ordained that on each occasion different men of the Emperor's choosing should succeed to these offices, just as is the rule in all the other offices of the Romans. Even so, these officials were not in command of Roman soldiers, but only of a few Armenians, as had been customary

general idea seems to be that where in the dress of high officials purple was normally used, this space was done in gold.

² Latin *plumeus*, "embroidered."

³ A.D. 474-491.

- ἤπερ τὰ πρότερα εἴθιστο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πολεμίους
 28 προσβάλλοντας ἀποκρούεσθαι ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν. ἃ
 δὴ καταμαθὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν
 τῶν σατραπῶν ὄνομα ἐξήλασεν ἐνθὲνδε εὐθύς,
 29 δοῦκας δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους δύο τοῖς ἔθνεσιν
 ἐπέστησε τούτοις· οἷς δὴ ξυνεστήσατο μὲν
 Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν καταλόγους παμπληθεῖς,
 ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ξυμφυλάξουσιν αὐτοῖς ὅρια·
 ὀχυρώματα δὲ δεδημιούργηκεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τάδε.
 β'. Ἀρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ
 χωρίων, ὅπως δὴ ὁ λόγος τοῖς ἔμροσθέν μοι
 δεδιγγημένοις προσεχῶς ἄγοιτο. τὸν μὲν οὖν
 ἕνα, τὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενίων ἔθνεσιν ἄρχοντα, ὃν
 δοῦκα καλοῦσιν, ἐν πόλει Μαρτυροπόλει καλου-
 μένῃ ιδρύσατο, τὸν δὲ δὴ ἕτερον ἐν φρουρίῳ
 2 ὅπερ Κιθαρίζων καλοῦσιν. ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ τῆς
 Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς τὰ χωρία τάδε ξυμβαίνει εἶναι,
 ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ Σοφανηνῇ καλου-
 μένῃ πόλις ἐστὶ που Μαρτυρόπολις ὄνομα παρ'
 αὐτὸν ποταμὸν Νύμφιον κειμένη καὶ τοῖς πολεμίους
 ὡς ἀγχοτάτω πρόσοικος οὔσα, ἐπεὶ ὁ Νύμφιος
 ποταμὸς διορίζει ἐνταῦθα τὰ Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ
 3 Περσῶν ἥθη. ἐπὶ θάτερα γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
 Ἀρξανηνῇ¹ ἡ χώρα οἰκεῖται Περσῶν κατήκοος
 ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὔσα. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς ἡ πόλις ἀπημελη-
 μένῃ Ῥωμαίοις τούτοις δὴ αἰεὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις
 4 ἀπέκειτο. ὥστε ἀμέλει Καβάδης ὁ Περσῶν
 βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Ἀναστασίου βασιλεύοντος ἐσέβαλε
 Ῥωμαίων τὴν γῆν, διὰ Μαρτυροπόλεως τὸ

B 249

¹ Ἀρξανηνῇ Haury: ἀρξάνη.

¹ Modern Mejafarkin.

previously, with the result that they were unable to repel the attacks of an enemy. And when this came to the knowledge of the Emperor Justinian, he immediately did away with the title of Satrap and appointed over these provinces two Dukes, as they are called; and he put under them a very large force of regular Roman troops to assist them in guarding the Roman frontier. He also built strongholds for them as follows.

ii. I shall start from the places in Mesopotamia, so that my account may proceed in order from the points which I have described previously. One of the rulers of the Armenian provinces, whom they call Duke, he established in the city called Martyropolis,¹ and the other in a stronghold which they call Citharizôn.² And I shall make clear just where in the Roman Empire these places actually are. In the part of Armenia called Sophanenê there is a certain city known as Martyropolis which lies on the very bank of the Nymphius³ River, quite close to the enemy, because the Nymphius River at that point divides the Roman from the Persian territory. For across the river lies the territory of Arxanenê, which has been subject to the Persians from early times. Even so the city had been neglected by the Romans and lay always exposed to these barbarians. In consequence of this, indeed, Cabades, King of the Persians, invaded⁴ the Roman territory during the reign of Anastasius, directing his march by way of Martyropolis, since it lay a little more than

² Modern Köderidj.

³ It is uncertain whether the name is accented Νύμφιος or Νεμφίος; Haury, *Index nominum*.

⁴ In A.D. 502.

- στράτευμα ἄγων, ἐπεὶ Ἀμίδης ὀλίγῳ πλέον
 5 ἡμέρας ὁδῷ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ διειστῆκει. ὥσπερ
 δέ τι πάρεργον ὁδοῦ διαχειρίζων καὶ τῆς ἐφόδου
 παρενθήκην τινὰ εὐθυωρὸν τὴν πόλιν ἐξεῖλεν, οὐ
 τειχομαχῆσας ἢ προσβολὴν τινὰ ἢ προσεδρεῖαν
 πεποιημένος, ἀλλὰ δηλώσας ὅτι δὴ ἀφίξεται
 P 55 6 μόνον. εὖ γὰρ εἰδότες οἱ τῇδε ὤκημένοι ὥς
 οὐδὲ βραχεῖάν τινα χρόνου στιγμήν τῷ στρατο-
 πέδῳ ἀνθέξουσιν, ἐπειδὴ ἀγχοῦ τῶν Μήδων
 στρατὸν ἦκοντα εἶδον, ἅμα Θεοδώρῳ τηνικάδε
 Σοφανηνῆς σατραπεύοντι καὶ τῆς σατραπείας
 ἐνδιδυσκομένῳ τὸ σχῆμα, Καβάδῃ προσῆλθον
 εὐθύς,¹ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Μαρτυρόπολιν αὐτῷ
 ἐνδιδόντες, φόρους τε τοὺς δημοσίους ἐνιαυτοῖν
 7 δυοῖν ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες. οἷς δὴ ὁ Καβάδης
 ἡσθεὶς τῆς μὲν πόλεως τε καὶ χώρας ἀπάσης, ὥς
 τῇ Περσῶν ἀρχῇ προσηκούσης, ἀπέσχετο,² τοὺς
 δὲ ἀνθρώπους ἀθῶους ἀφῆκεν, οὔτε τι λυμηνάμενος
 οὔτε τι τῆς πολιτείας μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ Θεόδωρον
 αὐτὸν σατράπην αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήσας καὶ αὐτῷ ἄτε
 οὐ γεγονότι ἀγνώμονι τὰ σύμβολα ἐγκεχειρικῶς
 τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὥς τὴν χώραν φυλάξοντι Πέρσαις.
 8 οὕτω τε τὸ στράτευμα πρόσω ἀπαγαγὼν πολιορ-
 κία τε Ἀμιδαν ἐξελὼν ἐς τὰ Περσῶν ἦθη
 ἀπήλαυνεν, ἥπερ ἐν λόγοις μοι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν
 9 πολέμων ἐρρήθη. βασιλεὺς τε Ἀναστάσιος ἐξ-
 επιστάμενος ὥς οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν Μαρτυρόπολιν
 ὀχύρωμα οὐδὲν ἔχουσαν ἐκ πολεμίων διασώσασθαι
 προσβολῆς, οὐχ ὅπως ἐπὶ Θεόδωρόν τε καὶ
 Σοφανηνοὺς ἡγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριτας
 αὐτοῖς τῆς πράξεως ἔχειν ὠμολόγει πολλάς.

¹ εὐθύς A, om. V.

² ἀπέσχετο V, ἀντέσχετο A.

a one-day's journey from Amida for an unencumbered traveller. And as if he were dealing with some minor detail of his journey, an incidental task of his campaign, he captured this city out of hand, not by storming the wall or by making any kind of assault or siege, but simply by sending an announcement that he would arrive. For the inhabitants of the city, knowing well that they would not be able to hold out even for one short moment against the attacking force, when they learned that the army of the Medes had arrived close by, immediately approached Cabades in company with Theodorus, who at that time was Satrap of Sophanenê, clothed in his robes of office, and placed themselves and Martyropolis at his disposal, bearing in their hands the public taxes of two years. And Cabades was pleased with this and withheld his hand from the city and from the whole district, as belonging to the Persian Kingdom, and he let the people go unharmed, neither inflicting any damage nor changing the form of the government, but he appointed Theodorus himself their Satrap, entrusting to him, since he had shewn himself not indiscreet, the tokens of the office, with the intention that he watch over the land for the Persians. Then he led his army forward, captured Amida by siege, and marched back into the land of Persia, as I have related in the Books on the Wars.¹ And the Emperor Anastasius, understanding that it was not possible to defend Martyropolis from hostile assault, since it had no defences, not only shewed no resentment against Theodorus and the people of Sophanenê, but actually expressed deep gratitude to them for their action. Indeed the

¹ I. vii. 3.

B 250 10 ταύτης οὖν τῆς Μαρτυροπόλεως τοῦ περιβόλου
ἐτύγχανε τὸ μὲν πάχος διήκον ἐς πόδας μάλιστα
τέσσαρας, τὸ δὲ ¹ ὕψος ἄχρι ἐς εἴκοσιν· ὥστε
τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν οὐ τειχομαχοῦσιν οὐδὲ
μηχανὰς προσβάλλουσι μόνον εὐέφοδον εἶναι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐσπηδῆσαι ἱκανῶς πρόχειρον.

11 Διὸ δὴ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐπενόει τάδε·
τοῦ περιβόλου ἐκτὸς τὴν γῆν διορύξας, θεμέλιά
τε ταύτῃ ἐνθέμενος τείχισμα ὠκοδομήσατο ἕτερον
ἐς ποδῶν πάχος διήκον τεττάρων, χώραν διαλιπὼν
μεταξὺ τεττάρων ἐτέρων τὸ εὖρος, ἐς ὕψος δὲ
καὶ τοῦτο ἀναστήσας ποδῶν εἴκοσιν, ἴσον τῷ

12 προτέρῳ παντάπασιν ἐσκευάσατο εἶναι. μετὰ
δὲ λίθους τε καὶ τίτανον ἐς χῶρον τὸν μεταξὺ
τείχους ἐκατέρου ἐμβεβλημένους ἐς μίαν τινὰ
οἰκοδομίαν δυοκαίδεκα τὸ πάχος ποδῶν τὸ

13 ἔργον τοῦτο ἀποτετέρονε. ὑπερθέν τε κατὰ
πάχος τὸ αὐτὸ μάλιστα ἐς ὕψος τοσοῦτον ἐντέθει-

14 κεν, ὅσον ξυνέβαινε τὸ πρότερον εἶναι. ἀλλὰ
καὶ προτείχισμα λόγου πολλοῦ ἄξιον τῇ πόλει
δεδημιούργηκε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπλῶς ἅπαντα οἷς
δὴ πόλεως ὀχύρωμα διασώζεται.

P 56 γ'. Ἐκ δὲ Μαρτυροπόλεως ἐς δύνοντά που τὸν
ἥλιον ἰόντι χωρίον ἐστὶ Φεισῶν ὄνομα ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ
μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ κείμενον τῇ Σοφανηνῇ καλουμένῃ,
Μαρτυροπόλεως δὲ ὀλίγον ἔλασσαν ἢ ὁδῷ ἡμέρας
2 διέχον. τούτου δὲ τοῦ χωρίου ἐπέκεινα, ὅσον
ἐκ σημείων ὀκτὼ μάλιστα, ὄρη ἀπότομα καὶ
παντάπασιν ἀδιέξοδα ξυνιόντα ἐς ἄλληλα στενω-
ποὺς ² ἀπεργάζονται δύο, ἀγχιστά πη ἀλλήλοι
ὄντας ³ οὐσπερ νενομίκασι Κλεισούρας καλεῖν.

¹ δὲ A, δέ γε V.

circuit-wall of this Martyropolis was really about four feet in thickness, while it was only twenty feet high. In consequence, the wall could not only be easily assaulted by the enemy if they stormed it or brought up their siege engines, but it was quite easy for them simply to scramble over it.

Therefore the Emperor Justinian devised the following plan: Outside the circuit-wall he dug a trench, and laying foundations there he built a second wall with a thickness of four feet, leaving a space of four feet between the two walls; and he raised the new wall also to a height of twenty feet and made it in all respects equal to the first. Then, by throwing stones and mortar into the space between the two walls, he brought this work to perfection by forming one solid structure with a thickness of twelve feet. Above this he added, in about the same thickness, the same height which the earlier wall had had. He also constructed admirable outworks for the city and all the other things without exception on which a city's defences are based.

iii. As one goes westerly from Martyropolis, there is a place called Pheisôn, which is also situated in Armenia, in the section called Sophanenê, a little less than a day's journey distant from Martyropolis. Beyond this place, at about the eighth milestone, precipitous and altogether impassable mountains come together to form two passes, very close to each other, which they are wont to call *cleisuræ*.¹

¹ Latin *clausura* or *clusura*, "a narrow shut-in road"; cf. *Wars*, II. xxix. 25, note, and *Jour. Hel. Stud.* xxi. 69 ff.

² στενωπούς V, ποταμούς A.

³ όντας V, όντα A.

- 3 τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Περσαρμενίας ἐπὶ Σοφανηνήν πορευο-
 μένους, εἴτε ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν Περσικῶν ὀρίων
 εἴτε διὰ τοῦ Κιθαρίζων φρουρίου ἴοιεν, ἀμήχανά
 ἐστὶν ὅτι μὴ διὰ τούτων δὴ τῶν δύο στενωπῶν
 251 4 ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι. καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπι-
 χώριοι Ἰλλυρισὸν μὲν τὸν ἕτερον, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον
 5 Σαφχάς. ὅπως μὲν οὖν ἀναστέλλοιτο τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις ἢ ἐνταῦθα ὁδὸς ἀσφαλείας τε αὐτῆς καὶ
 τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ἄξια ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὰ
 χωρία ταῦτα ὄντα ἐτύγχανεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς
 ἀφύλακτα τὸ παράπαν μεμένηκε τοῖς πρόσθεν
 6 ἀνθρώποις. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐν τε τῷ
 Φεισῶν καὶ τοῖς στενωποῖς ὀχυρώματά τε ἄξιο-
 θέατα καὶ στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰν ἀνανταγώνιστον
 καταστησάμενος, ἄβατον βαρβάροις τὴν χώραν
 διεπράξατο παντάπασιν εἶναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ
 χώρας τῆς Σοφανηνῆς καλουμένης τῇδε Ἰουστι-
 νιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται.
- 7 Ἐν δὲ τῷ Κιθαρίζων χωρίῳ, ὅπερ ἐπὶ Ἀσθια-
 νίνης τῆς καλουμένης ἐστί, φρούριον οὐ πρότερον
 ὃν ἐν χώρῳ λοφώδει ὑπερφυές τε καὶ δαιμονίως
 8 ἄμαχον κατεστήσατο. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ διαρκές ὕδωρ
 ἐσαγαγὼν τά τε ἄλλα πάντα τοῖς τῇδε ὠκημένοις
 ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖῳ πεποιημένος, τὸν ἕτερον δοῦκα,
 ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ξὺν στρατιωτῶν ἐνταῦθα φρουρᾷ
 ἱκανωτάτῃ ἰδρύσατο. ταύτῃ τε τοῖς τῶν Ἀρμε-
 νίων ἔθνεσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώσατο.
- 9 Ἐκ δὲ Κιθαρίζων ἕς τε Θεοδοσιούπολιν καὶ
 Ἀρμενίαν τὴν ἐτέραν ἰόντι Χορζάνῃ μὲν ἡ χώρα
 καλεῖται, διήκει δὲ ἕς ὁδὸν τριῶν ἡμερῶν μάλιστα
 οὔτε λίμνης τινὸς ὕδατι οὔτε ποταμοῦ ρεῖθρῳ
 οὔτε ὄρεσι τὴν δίοδον ἐν στενῷ εἵργουσι διορίζο-

And when travellers go from Persarmenia to Sophanenê, either from the Persian territory itself or by way of the fortress of Citharizôn, it is necessary for them to get there by way of these two passes. The natives call the one of them Illyrisum and the other Saphchae. And for the purpose of checking the enemy's advance in that region, these places were, as it happened, worth making thoroughly defended and well equipped in every way. Yet they remained altogether unguarded by the men of earlier times. But the Emperor Justinian, by establishing admirable forts at Pheisôn and in the passes and posting in them invincible garrisons, has made this region altogether inaccessible to the barbarians. Such were the things done by the Emperor Justinian in the territory called Sophanenê.

And at the place named Citharizôn, which is in Asthianinê, as it is called, he established a fortress which had not existed before, a huge and extraordinarily impregnable stronghold, situated in a hilly region. He also brought into it an abundant supply of water and made all other proper arrangements for the inhabitants, and stationed there the second of the Dukes, as I have said,¹ with a very numerous garrison of soldiers. And he thereby guaranteed the safety of the Armenian provinces.

As one goes from Citharizôn to Theodosiopolis and the other Armenia, the land is called Chorzanê; it extends for a distance of about three days' journey, not being marked off from the Persian territory by the water of any lake or by any river's stream or

¹ Chap. ii. 1.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

10 μένη τῆς τῶν Περσῶν γῆς, ἀλλὰ τῶν ὀρίων
αὐταῖς ἀναμιξ κειμένων. ὥστε οἱ ταύτῃ ὤκημένοι,
Ῥωμαίων ἢ Περσῶν ὄντες κατήκοι, οὔτε τι
ἀπ' ἀλλήλων δέος ἔχουσιν οὔτε ἀλλήλοις πῃ ἐς
ἐπιβουλήν εἰσιν ὑποπτοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ γάμους ἀλλή-
λοις ἐπικηδεύουσι καὶ ἀγορὰν¹ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
συμβάλλονται καὶ τὰ ἐς γεωργίαν ἐπικοινωνοῦνται.

B 252 11 ἦν δέ ποτε οἱ τῶν ἐτέρων ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἐτέρους στρατῷ ἴωσιν, ἐπιτεταγμένον σφίσι πρὸς
τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀφυλάκτους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους
12 εὐρίσκουσι. χωρία μὲν γὰρ ἐκατέροις πολυανθρω-
πότατα ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἀλλήλων ἐστίν, ἔρυμα
P 57 13 δὲ οὐδετέροις πῃ ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν. παρῆν οὖν
ἐνθένδε τῷ Περσῶν βασιλεῖ ρᾶόν τε καὶ ἀπονώ-
τερον τὴν δίοδον ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἦθη ποιεῖσθαι,
ἕως βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς διακωλυτῆς αὐτῷ
γέγονε τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. χωρίον ἦν ἐπὶ μέσης
14 τῆς χώρας Ἀρταλέσων ὄνομα. τοῦτο τεῖχει
ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν φρούριόν τε ἀμαχώτατον
ἐξεργάσατο καὶ στρατιωτικοὺς καταλόγους τῇδε
ιδρύσατο, οἷς δὴ ἄρχοντα ἐς αἰεὶ ἐφεστάναι
διώρισεν, ὃνπερ δοῦκα Ῥωμαῖοι τῇ Λατίνων
καλοῦσι φωνῇ. οὕτω τε τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἐσχατιᾷ
ἐτειχίστατο ξύμπασαν.

δ'. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν βασιλεῖ ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται.
ὅσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀρμενίας διαπεπόνηται
2 ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. Σάταλα πόλις ἐπὶ σφαλερᾷς τὸ
παλαιὸν ἐλπίδος εἰστήκει. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμίων

¹ ἀγορὰν V, ἀγορὰς A.

¹ That is, Lesser Armenia; cf. chap. i. 17 *supra*.

by a wall of mountains which pinch the road into a narrow pass, but the two frontiers are indistinct. So the inhabitants of this region, whether subjects of the Romans or of the Persians, have no fear of each other, nor do they give one another any occasion to apprehend an attack, but they even intermarry and hold a common market for their produce and together share the labours of farming. And if the commanders on either side ever make an expedition against the others, when they are ordered to do so by their sovereign, they always find their neighbours unprotected. Their very populous towns are close to each other, yet from ancient times no stronghold existed on either side. It was possible, therefore, for the Persian King to proceed by this route with comparative ease and convenience in passing through into Roman territory, until the Emperor Justinian blocked his way in the following manner. There was a town in the middle of this region named Artalesôn which he surrounded with a very strong wall and converted into an impregnable fortress; and he stationed there detachments of regular troops which by his orders were always to be commanded by an officer whom the Romans, in the Latin tongue, call a *Dux*. By these measures he fortified the whole of that remote frontier.

iv. These things were accomplished by the Emperor in the manner described. I shall now go on to tell about all the other works which by his diligence he executed in the other ¹ Armenia. The city of Satala ² had been in a precarious state in ancient times. For it is situated not far from the land of the enemy

² Modern Sadagh.

- τῆς γῆς ὀλίγῳ διέχει, ἐν δαπέδῳ δὲ χθαμαλῶ
 κείται, λόφοις τε πολλοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἐпанεστη-
 κόσιν ὑπόκειται, περιβόλων τε αὐτῇ διὰ ταῦτα
 3 ἔδει τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἀμηχάνων ἐλεῖν. ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τοιαύτῃ τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν οὔσῃ τὰ ἐκ
 τοῦ ἐρύματος σφαλερώτερα ἦν, φαύλως ¹ τε
 ἀρχὴν τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ παρέργως πεποιημένου
 καὶ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ ἤδη τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐκασ-
 4 ταχοῦ διερρωγότης. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο περιελὼν ὁ
 βασιλεὺς ὅλον, περίβολον ὠκοδομήσατο ἐνταῦθα
 νέον, ὑψηλὸν μὲν ὅσον ὑπερπεφυκέναι τοὺς ἀμφ'
 αὐτὸν λόφους δοκεῖν, εὐρυνόμενον δὲ ὅσον ἐπ'
 ἀσφαλοῦς ἐпанεστηκέναι τό γε τοῦ ὕψους ὑπέρ-
 5 ογκον. καὶ προτείχισμα δὲ ² πολλοῦ ἄξιον λόγου
 253 πηξάμενος ἐν κύκλῳ τοὺς πολεμίους κατέπληξε.
 καὶ ³ φρούριον δὲ Σατάλων οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν
 ἐχυρὸν ἄγαν ἐν χώρᾳ Ὀσροηνῶν καλουμένην
 ὠκοδομήσατο.
 6 Ἦν δέ τι φρούριον ἐν τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ἐν ἀκρω-
 νυχίᾳ λόφου κατακρήμνου πεποιημένον ⁴ τοῖς
 πάλαι ἀνθρώποις, ὃ δὴ Πομπήιος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω
 χρόνοις ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸς ἐξελὼν καὶ τῆς
 χώρας τῷ πολέμῳ κύριος γεγονώς ἐκρατύνατό
 7 τε ὡς μάλιστα καὶ Κολώνειαν ἐπωνόμασε· καὶ
 τοῦτο οὖν χρόνῳ πεπονηκὸς τοσούτῳ τὸ πλῆθος
 βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνεσώσατο δυνάμει τῇ
 8 πάσῃ. καὶ χρήματα μέντοι προέμενος ἀνάριθμα
 τοῖς τῇδε ὠκημένοις, ἐρύματα ἐκασταχοῦ διεπρά-
 ξατο ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοις ἀγροῖς ἢ νέα δεῖμασθαι,
 9 ἢ ἀνοικοδομήσασθαι σαθρὰ γεγονότα. ὥστε ἅπαν-
 τα σχεδὸν τι τὰ ὀχυρώματα, ὅσα δὴ ἐνταῦθα

¹ φαύλως A, φαύλῳ V.

² δὲ A, om. V.

and it also lies in a low-lying plain and is dominated by many hills which tower around it, and for this reason it stood in need of circuit-walls which would defy attack. Nevertheless, even though its surroundings were of such a nature as this, its defences were in a perilous condition, having been carelessly constructed with bad workmanship in the beginning, and with the long passage of time the masonry had everywhere collapsed. But the Emperor tore all this down and built there a new circuit-wall, so high that it seemed to overtop the hills around it, and of a thickness sufficient to ensure the safety of its towering mass. And he set up admirable outworks on all sides and so struck terror into the hearts of the enemy. He also built a very strong fortress not far from Satala in the territory called Osroenê.

There was a certain fortress in that region erected by men of ancient times on the crest of a precipitous hill, which in early times Pompey, the Roman general, captured; and becoming master of the land by his victories, he strengthened this town materially and named it Coloneia.¹ This also the Emperor Justinian, finding that it had suffered much through the ravages of so long a time, restored with all his resources. Furthermore, by granting great sums to the inhabitants of this region he brought it about that everywhere on their own land either new defences were built or those which had fallen into decay were restored. Thus practically all the fortifications which

¹ Modern Kara Hissar.

² καὶ V, om. A.

⁴ κατακρήμνου πεποιημένον V, ἀποκρήμνου γεγενημένον A.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τυγχάνει
 10 ἔργα ὄντα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ φρούρια ὠκοδομή-
 σατο τό τε Βαιβερδῶν καλούμενον καὶ τὸ Ἄρεων.
 καὶ τὸ Λυσίορμον ἀνεενώσατο πεπονηκὸς ἤδη
 P 58 11 σὺν τῷ Λυταραριζών. ἔν τε χωρίῳ, ὅπερ Γερ-
 μανοῦ καλοῦσι Φοσσᾶτον, φρούριον ἐδείματο νέον.
 ἀλλὰ καὶ Σεβαστείας καὶ Νικοπόλεως τῶν ἐν
 Ἀρμενίαις πόλεων τὰ τεῖχη, ἐπεὶ καταπεσεῖσθαι
 πάντα¹ ἔμελλον, τεταλαιπωρημένα τῷ μήκει τοῦ
 12 χρόνου, ἀνοικοδομησάμενος πεποιήται νέα. καὶ
 ἱερῶν δὲ καὶ μοναστηρίων ἐνταῦθα οἰκοδομίας
 B 254 ἐξείργασται. ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ Θεοδοσιουπόλει νεῶν
 τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκε, καὶ μοναστήρια ἔν τε
 χωρίῳ τῷ καλουμένῳ Πέτριος, καὶ τῷ Κου-
 13 καρίζων ἀνεενώσατο. ἔν τε Νικοπόλει τὸ τῶν
 ἀγίων τεσσαράκοντα πέντε καλούμενον μοναστή-
 ριον, καὶ ἱερὸν Γεωργίῳ τῷ μάρτυρι ἐν Βιζανοῖς
 14 ἐδείματο. τῆς τε Θεοδοσιουπόλεως ἀγχιστα μονα-
 στήριον ἀνεενώσατο τῶν τεσσαράκοντα μαρτύρων
 ἐπικαλούμενον.
 15 Ἦν δέ τι χωρίον ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις τὸ παλαιὸν
 μικροῖς καλουμένοις οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν ποταμοῦ
 Εὐφράτου, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ λόχος Ῥωμαίων στρατιω-
 16 τῶν ἱδρυτο. Μελιτηνὴ μὲν τὸ χωρίον, λεγεὼν
 δὲ ὁ λόχος ἐπωνομάζετο. ἐνταῦθά πη ἔρυμα ἐν
 τετραγώνῳ ἐπὶ χώρας ὑπτίας ἐδείμαντο ἐν τοῖς
 ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι, τοῖς τε στρατιώταις
 ἀποχρώντως ἐς καταλύσεις ἔχον καὶ ὅπως σφίσι
 17 τὰ σημεῖα τῇδε ἐναποκείσονται. μετὰ δὲ Τραϊανῷ
 τῷ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορι δεδογμένον, ἐς πόλεός
 τε ἀξίωμα² ὁ χώρος ἀφίκται καὶ μητρόπολις

¹ πάντα A, πάντως V.

² ἀξίωμα V, ὀχύρωμα A.

can be found there are, as it happens, the work of the Emperor Justinian. In that region also he constructed the forts called Baiberdôn and Areôn. He likewise restored Lysiormum, which had already fallen into ruin, as well as Lytararizôn.¹ And at the place which they call Germani Fossatum² he built a new fort. Furthermore, he rebuilt the walls of Sebasteia³ and Nicopolis,⁴ cities of Armenia, for they were all on the point of collapsing, having suffered from the long passage of time, and he made them new. He also carried out the building of churches and monasteries there. In Theodosiopolis he dedicated a church to the Mother of God, and he restored monasteries in the place called Petrios and in Coucarizôn. In Nicopolis he built the monastery named after the Forty-five Saints, and in Bizani a church to the martyr George. And close to Theodosiopolis he restored a monastery named after the Forty Martyrs.

There was in antiquity a certain town in Lesser Armenia, as it is called, not far from the Euphrates River, in which a detachment of Roman soldiers was posted. The town was Melitenê,⁵ and the detachment was called a "legion." In that place the Romans in former times had built a stronghold in the form of a square, on level ground, which served adequately as barracks for the soldiers and provided a place where they could deposit their standards. Later on, by decision of the Roman Emperor Trajan, the place received the rank of a city and became the

¹ The name appears elsewhere in a variety of forms, especially Olotoidariza.

² "The Trench of Germanus"; see below, Chap. vi. 23.

³ At or near the modern town of Siwas.

⁴ Modern Pjurk, near Enderes.

⁵ Modern Malatia.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 18 κατέστη τῷ ἔθνει. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου
 ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν Μελιτηνῶν πόλις μεγάλη καὶ
 πολυάνθρωπος. ἐπεὶ τε ἐρύματος ἐντὸς ἐνοικῆσα-
 σθαι οὐκέτι εἶχον (ἐς γὰρ ¹ ὀλίγον τινὰ ξυνῆει
 χῶρον, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται) ἰδρύσαντο ἐν τῷ
 ταύτης πεδίῳ, ἵνα δὴ τὰ ἱερὰ σφίσι πεποιήται
 καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχῶν καταγώγια καὶ ² τὴν τε ἀγο-
 ράν ὅσα τε ἄλλα ἐμπολημάτων πωλητήριά ἐστι,
 τὰς τε τῆς πόλεως ἀγνιὰς πάσας καὶ στοὰς καὶ
 βαλανεῖα καὶ θέατρα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πόλεως
 19 μεγάλης ἐς κόσμον διήκει. τῷ τε τρόπῳ τούτῳ
 Μελιτηνὴν ἀτειχιστον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ξυν-
 ἐβαίνειν εἶναι. Ἀναστάσιος μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς
 αὐτὴν ξύμπασαν τείχει περιβαλεῖν ἐγκεχειρήκεν·
 20 οὕπῳ μέντοι τὸ βούλευμα ἀποτελέσας τὸν
 βίον συνεμετρήσατο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς
 πανταχόθεν αὐτὴν βεβαιότατα κατατειχισάμενος ³
 μέγα τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ὀχύρωμά τε καὶ ἐγκαλ-
 λώπισμα Μελιτηνὴν ἀπειργάσατο.
- εἴ. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ ⁴ Ἀρμενίᾳ ἣ ἐστὶν ἐν
 δεξιᾷ Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ εἰργάσατο· ὅσα δέ οἱ
 ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ πεποιήται ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.
 2 ἥνικα Θεοδοσίος ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὴν
 Ἀρσάκου ἐπικράτειαν ἔσχεν, ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος
 δεδιήγεται, φρούριον ἐπὶ τινος τῶν λόφων ⁵
 3 ὠκοδομήσατο τοῖς προσιούσιν εὐάλωτον, ὃ δὴ
 4 Θεοδοσιούπολιν ἐπωνόμασε. τοῦτο Καβάδης τότε
 ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς, ἥνικα δὴ Ἀμίδης εὐθὺς ἵετο,
 4 παριὼν εἶλεν. Ἀναστάσιος δὲ ὁ Ῥωμαίων

B 255

P 59

¹ ἐς γὰρ V, ἐπεὶ ἐς A.

² καὶ V, om. A.

³ βεβαιότατα κατατειχισάμενος V, τειχισάμενος A.

metropolis of the province. And as time went on, the city of Melitenê became large and populous. But since the people were no longer able to live inside the fortifications (for it was reduced to a small space, as I have said) they settled in the adjoining plain, and here their shrines have been erected and the residences of the magistrates and their market-place, and all the other places for the sale of goods, and all the streets and stoas and baths and theatres of the city, and whatever else contributes to the embellishment of a great city. In this way it came about that Melitenê was for the most part unwallled. Accordingly the Emperor Anastasius undertook to surround the whole of it with a wall; before, however, he had carried out his purpose he fulfilled the measure of his life. But the Emperor Justinian built about it on all sides a very strong wall and made Melitenê a mighty stronghold for the Armenians and a thing of beauty.

v. These works he built in the Armenia which is on the right of the Euphrates River; and I shall go on to tell what was done by him in Greater Armenia. When Theodosius, the Emperor of the Romans, took over the dominion of Arsaces, as I have just related,¹ he built on one of the hills a fort which was easy for assailants to capture, and he named it Theodosiopolis.² This city Cabades, who was then King of Persia, captured in passing when he was marching on Amida. The Roman Emperor Anastasius not

¹ Cf. Chap. i. 12 and note.

² Modern Erzeroum.

⁴ τῆ added by Capps.

⁵ λόφῳν Maltretus: λίθων V.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- αὐτοκράτωρ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον πόλιν ἐνταῦθα
 ἐδείματο, τὸν λόφον ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου πεποιη-
 μένος, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ φρούριον τὸ Θεοδοσίου εἰστήκει.
 5 καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει ἀφῆκεν, ἐξί-
 τηλον δὲ τὸ Θεοδοσίου ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ πρότερον
 οἰκιστοῦ ἥκιστα ἴσχυσεν, ἐπεὶ νεοχμοῦσθαι μὲν
 τὰ καθωμιλημένα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐς αἰὶ πέφυκεν,
 ὀνομάτων δὲ τῶν πρόσθεν μεθίεσθαι οὐκ εὐπετῶς
 6 ἔχει. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ Θεοδοσιουπόλεως τεῖχος
 εὐρύνετο μὲν ἱκανώτατα, οὐ κατὰ λόγον δὲ τοῦ
 7 εὗρους ἀνεῖχε. τὸ γὰρ ὕψος αὐτῷ ἐς τριάκοντα
 ἐξικνεῖτο μάλιστα πόδας· ταύτῃ τε πολεμίοις
 τειχομαχοῦσιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ Πέρσαις, ἐγεγόνει
 8 λίαν εὐάλωτον. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐπίμαχον.
 οὔτε γὰρ προτειχίσμα οὔτε τάφρος αὐτῷ ἦμυνεν.
 9 ἀλλὰ καὶ χῶρός τις ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐπεμβαίνων τῇ
 πόλει τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπανειστήκει. διὸ δὴ βασι-
 λεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀντεμηχανήσατο τάδε. πρῶτα
 μὲν ¹ τάφρον ὡς βαθυτάτην ἐν κύκλῳ ὀρύξας,
 B 256 χαράδραις αὐτὴν ὀρῶν ἀποτόμων ἐμφερεστάτην
 10 εἰργάσατο. ἔπειτα δὲ χῶρον τὸν ὑπερπεφυκότα
 κατατεμῶν ἐς τε ἀνεκβάτους κρημνοὺς ² καὶ
 σήραγγας ἀδιεξόδους μετεστήσατο τὴν αὐτοῦ
 φύσιν· ὅπως δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὑψηλὸν τε εἴη δια-
 φερόντως καὶ ὅλως ἀνανταγώνιστον, εἴ τις προσίῳι,
 προσεπετεχνήσατο ἅπαντα ὅσα ἐν πόλει Δάρας
 11 εἰργάσατο. τὰς γὰρ ἐπάλξεις ἀποσφίγξας ἐν
 στενῷ μάλιστα ὅσον ἐνθένδε βάλλειν τοὺς τειχο-
 μαχοῦντας δυνατὰ εἶναι, ἔμβολόν τε αὐταῖς λίθων
 ἐπιβολαῖς ἐν περιδρόμῳ περιελίξας, ἐντέθεικεν
 ἐμπείρως ἐπάλξεις ἐτέρας, προτειχίσματί τε αὐτὸ

¹ πρῶτα μὲν A, om. V.

² κρημνοὺς V, om. A

much later built a city there, enclosing within the circuit-wall the hill on which stood the fortress of Theodosius. And he gave his own name to the city, yet he was quite unable to obliterate that of Theodosius, the earlier founder; for although familiar names are wont constantly to be changed by men for new, nevertheless the older names cannot easily be relinquished. This wall of Theodosiopolis was of adequate extent, but it did not rise to a height proportionate to its thickness. In fact it attained a height of only about thirty feet, and for this reason it had proved to be very easy for an enemy to capture by assault, particularly for the Persians. In other ways too it was vulnerable; for it was protected neither by outworks nor by a moat. Indeed, there was actually a certain elevation which came very close to the city and overtopped the circuit-wall. Consequently the Emperor Justinian took the following measures to meet the situation. First of all he dug a very deep ditch all around, making it very like the ravines between lofty mountains. Next he sliced off the elevated ground, so transforming it as to make a series of impassable cliffs and of gulches affording no outlet. And in order that the wall might be exceptionally high and altogether impregnable, in case anyone should attack it, he added all the details which he had incorporated in the fortifications of Daras.¹ For he made the embrasures quite narrow, just wide enough for the defenders to be able to shoot from them, and by adding courses of stones he built thereon a storey like a gallery all round, and then cleverly added other embrasures above them;

¹ Cf. *Buildings*, II. i. 14 ff.

περιβαλὼν κύκλῳ ἐμφερέστατον τῷ ἐν πόλει
 Δάρας περιβόλῳ πεποιήται, πύργον ἕκαστον
 12 φρούριον ἐχυρὸν τεκτηνάμενος. οὗ δὴ τὰς δυνά-
 μεις ἀπάσας καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἀρμενίαις στρατηγὸν
 ἰδρύσασθαι καταστησάμενος κρείσσους τοὺς Ἀρμε-
 νίους διεπράξατο τὸ λοιπὸν εἶναι ἢ δεδιέναι τὴν
 Περσῶν ἔφοδον.

13 Ἐς μέντοι τὰ Βιζανὰ οὐδὲν εἴργασται τῷ
 βασιλεῖ τούτῳ ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύδε. κείμεναι μὲν ἐν
 τῷ ὁμαλῷ τὸ χωρίον, πεδία τε ¹ ἀμφ' αὐτὸ ἐπὶ
 μακρὸν ἱππήλατά ἐστιν, ὕδατος δὲ σηπεδόνες
 14 πολλαὶ ξυνισταμένου ἐνταῦθά εἰσι. καὶ ἀπ'
 αὐτοῦ τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐπιμαχώτατον, τοῖς δὲ
 οἰκήτορσι λοιμωδέστατον αὐτὸ ² ξυμβαίνει εἶναι.
 15 ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο ὑπεριδὼν ἐτέρωθι
 πόλιν ἐδείματο αὐτοῦ βασιλέως ἐπώνυμον, ἀξιο-
 λογωτάτην τε καὶ ἄμαχον ὅλως ἐν χωρίῳ Τζουμινᾶ
 καλουμένῳ, ὅπερ σημείοις μὲν τρισὶ Βιζανῶν
 διέχει, ἐν κρημνῳδαι δὲ μάλιστα κείμενον εὐεξίας
 αἰρῶν εὖ ἔχει.

B 257 P 60 5'. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις Ἰουστινιανῷ
 βασιλεῖ τῇδε πη ἔχει. τὰ δὲ δὴ κατὰ τὰ Τζάνων
 ἔθνη ἀναγράψασθαί μοι ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου οὐ τι
 ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ πρόσοικοι
 ■ Ἀρμενίοις εἰσὶν. αὐτόνομοι μὲν Τζάνοι ἐκ παλαι-
 οῦ καὶ ἄναρχοι ὥκουν, θηριώδη τινὰ βιοτὴν
 ἔχοντες, θεοὺς μὲν τὰ τε ἄλση καὶ ὄρνις καὶ ἄλλα
 ἅττα ζῶα ἡγούμενοί τε καὶ σέβοντες, ἐν ὅρεσι δὲ
 οὐρανομήκεσί τε καὶ ἀμφιλαφέσι τὸν πάντα
 αἰῶνα δίαιταν ἔχοντες, γῆν δὲ οὐδαμῇ γεωργοῦν-

¹ τε Maltretus for δέ.

² αὐτὸ V, om. A.

and surrounding the wall with outworks on all sides he made it much like the circuit-wall of Daras, fashioning each tower as a strong fortress. Here he stationed all the troops and the General of the two Armenias, and thus he made the Armenians thenceforth too strong to be afraid of the attacks of the Persians.

In Bizana, however, nothing was done by this Emperor, for the following reason. This town lies on level ground, and about it for a great distance stretch plains suitable for cavalry manoeuvres, and there are many pools of standing water there. Consequently it is not only very open to the enemy's attack, but most unhealthy for the inhabitants. For these reasons he passed over this town and in another situation built a city bearing the Emperor's own name, a very noteworthy and altogether impregnable place, in the district called Tzumina, which is three miles removed from Bizana, situated on very precipitous ground and enjoying excellent air.

vi. These, then, are the things which the Emperor Justinian did in Armenia. And it has seemed to me not inappropriate to record at this point in my account what he did for the Tzani, for they are neighbours of the Armenians. From ancient times the Tzani¹ have lived as an independent people, without rulers, following a savage-like manner of life, regarding as gods the trees and birds and sundry creatures besides, and worshipping them, and spending their whole lives among mountains reaching to the sky and covered with forests,² and cultivating

¹ In *Wars*, I. 15. 19 ff., Procopius places these people in Iberia, south of the Caucasus.

² But for the statement below in sec. 9 the adjective ἀμφι-λαφής might be given the meaning "of stupendous mass."

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

3 τες, ἀλλὰ ληστεύοντές τε καὶ τοῖς φωρίοις αἰεὶ
3 ἀποζῶντες. αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἀμελέτητοὶ εἰσιν ἐργά-
 ζεσθαι γῆν καὶ ἡ χώρα σφίσιν, ἔνθα δὴ μὴ ὄρη
 4 τὰ γε ἀποτομώτατα περιβέβληται, λοφώδης ἐστίν.
4 οὐ γήλοφοι δέ εἰσι τὰ ἐπανεστηκότα τῆς γῆς
 οὐδὲ γεώδη οὐδὲ οἶα καρποὺς ἀφεῖναι, εἴ τις
 αὐτῶν ἐπιμελοῖτο, ἀλλὰ τραχέα τε ὑπερβαλλόντως
 καὶ σκληρὰ ὑπεράγαν καὶ καρπῶν ἀπάντων
 5 δεινῶς ἄφορα. καὶ οὔτε ἀρόσαι τὴν γῆν οὔτε
 ἀμήσασθαι λήιον οὔτε λειμῶνι ἐντυχεῖν ἐνταυθα
 πη δυνατὰ γίνεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς δένδροις, οἷσπερ
 ἡ Τζανικὴ τέθηλεν, ἀκάρποις τε οὖσιν ἀνθεῖ καὶ
 ὅλως ἀγόνοις, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ἀλλήλους ἐκδέχονται
 καιροὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, οὐδὲ νῦν μὲν ἡ γῆ
 τῷ τῆς ὥρας ὑγρῷ τε καὶ ψυχρῷ βάλλεται, νῦν
 δὲ δὴ αὐτὴν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου θερμὴ ὀνίνησιν, ἀλλὰ
 χειμῶνι τε ἀπεράντῳ ξυνώκισται ἡ χώρα καὶ
 6 χιόσιν αἰδίοις κατάρρυτός ἐστι. διὰ ταῦτα μὲν
 αὐτόνομοι τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ Τζάνοι ἐβίου, ἐπὶ
 τούτου δὲ Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ἡττήθησάν
 τε Ῥωμαίων τῇ μάχῃ, Τζίττα στρατηγοῦντος
 Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τὴν ἀγώνισιν ἀπογνόντες εὐθὺς
 προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ ἅπαντες, πρὸ τῆς ἐπικινδύνου
 ἐλευθερίας τὴν ἄπονον δουλείαν ἐλόμενοι σφίσι.
 B 258 7 καὶ τὴν τε δόξαν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσεβὲς αὐτίκα μετέθεντο
 ἅπαντες Χριστιανοὶ γεγεννημένοι, τὴν τε δίαιταν ἐπὶ
 τὸ ἡμερώτερον μεθηρμόσαντο, ληστείας μὲν ἀφέ-
 μενοι πάσης, τοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις συστρατεύοντες ἐπὶ
 8 πολεμίους αἰεὶ τοὺς σφετέρους ἰοῦσι. δείσας δὲ
 Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς μή ποτε Τζάνοι μεταπορευσά-
 μενοι τὴν δίαιταν αὐθις τὰ σφέτερα ἦθη ἐπὶ τὸ
 ἀγριώτερον μεταστρέψωνται ¹ ἐπενόει τοιαύδε.

no land whatever, but robbing and living always on their plunder. For they themselves are not skilled in cultivating the soil, and their country, at least where it is not occupied by the steepest mountains, is hilly. These uplands are not rolling hills, neither do they provide soil such as would produce harvests, if one should cultivate them, but they are excessively rough and extremely hard and altogether unfavourable to any crops. It is not possible either to irrigate the land or to harvest corn; one cannot find meadow-land in that region, indeed even the trees which grow in Tzanica bear no fruit and are entirely unproductive, for seasons do not regularly follow one another, and the earth is not visited at one period by a cold wet season, while at another the sun's heat quickens it, but the land is held in the grip of an endless winter and buried under everlasting snows. For this reason the Tzani in ancient times used to live in independence, but during the reign of the present Emperor Justinian they were defeated in battle by the Romans under the general Tzittas, and abandoning the struggle they all straightway yielded to him, preferring the toilless servitude to the dangerous liberty. And they immediately changed their belief to piety, all of them becoming Christians, and they altered their manner of life to a milder way, giving up all brigandage and always marching with the Romans whenever they went against their enemies. And the Emperor Justinian, fearing that the Tzani at some time might alter their way of life and change their habits back to the wilder sort, devised the following measures.

¹ μεταστρέφονται Hoeschel: μεταστρέφονται.

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- 9 Δύσოდος ἦν ἡ Τζανικὴ λίαν καὶ ἄφιππος ὅλως,
κρημνοῖς τε πανταχόθεν καὶ χώροις περικεκλεισ-
μένη ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ὑλώδεσιν, ἥπερ μοι
10 εἴρηται. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Τζάνοις ἐπιμίνυσθαι
τοῖς πλησιοχώροις ἀμήχανον ἦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ
P 61 μόνας ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀπηγριωμένοι θηρίων
11 τρόπον τὴν δίαιταν εἶχον. τὰ τοίνυν δένδρα
ἐκτεμῶν ἅπαντα, οἷσπερ τὰς ὁδοὺς ξυνέβαινε
ξυμποδίζεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ἐκείνη δυσχωρίας μεθ-
αρμοσάμενος, εὐπετεῖς τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἱππασίμους
καταστησάμενος, ἐπιμίνυσθαι αὐτοὺς κατὰ ταῦτα
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ προσχωρεῖν τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ
12 τῶν πλησιοχώρων πεποίηκεν. ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτοῖς
ἐκκλησίαν ἐν χωρίῳ Σχαμαλινίχων καλουμένῳ
δειμάμενος, ἱερᾶσθαι τε διεπράξατο καὶ μυστη-
ρίων μεταλαμβάνειν¹ λιταῖς τε τὸν θεὸν ἰλεοῦσθαι,
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐξοσιοῦσθαι, συνιέντες ὡς ἄνθρωποι
13 εἶεν. καὶ φρούρια δὲ οἰκοδομησάμενος πανταχόθι
τῆς χώρας φρουροὺς τε ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων
στρατιωτῶν ἰδρυσάμενος βεβαιότατα, Τζάνοις ἐς
τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τὰς ἐπιμιξίας ἀκωλύτους
14 πεποίηκεν. ὅπη ποτὲ δὲ Τζανικῆς τὰ φρούρια
ταῦτα ἐδείματο ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.
- B 259 15 Χώραν ἐνταῦθά τινα ἐς τρίοδον ἀποκεκριμένην
ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. Ῥωμαίων τε γὰρ καὶ Περσαρ-
μενίων τὰ ὅρια καὶ Τζάνων αὐτῶν τῇδε ἀρξάμενα
16 ἐνθένδε διασκεδάννυται. ἐνταῦθα φρούριον ἐχυρώ-
τατον, οὐ πρότερον ὄν, ὄνομα Ὀρονῶν, ἐξείργασ-
ται, κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ τῆς εἰρήνης πεποιημένος.
17 ἔνθεν γὰρ τὰ πρῶτα Ῥωμαίοις ἡ Τζανικὴ ἐσβατὴ
γέγονεν· οὐ δὴ καὶ ἄρχοντα στρατιωτῶν κατεστή-
18 σατο, ὃν δοῦκα καλοῦσιν. ἐν χωρίῳ δὲ ὁδῷ
208

Tzanica was a very inaccessible country and altogether impossible for horses, being shut in on all sides by cliffs and for the most part by forests, as I have said. As a result of this it was impossible for the Tzani to mingle with their neighbours, living as they did a life of solitude among themselves in the manner of wild beasts. Accordingly he cut down all the trees by which the routes chanced to be obstructed, and transforming the rough places and making them smooth and passable for horses, he brought it about that they mingled with other peoples in the manner of men in general and consented to have intercourse with their neighbours. After this he built a church for them in a place called Schamalinichôn, and caused them to conduct services and to partake of the sacraments and propitiate God with prayers and perform the other acts of worship, so that they should know that they were human beings. And he built forts in all parts of the land, assigned to them very strong garrisons of Roman soldiers, and gave the Tzani unhampered intercourse with other peoples. I shall now tell where in Tzanica he built these forts.

It happens that a certain point in that land forms the meeting-place of three roads; for the boundaries of the Romans and the Persarmenians and the Tzani themselves begin here and extend out from this point. Here he constructed a very strong fortress which had not existed previously, Horonôn by name, making it the mainstay of the peace of the region. For the Romans were first able to enter Tzanica from that point. Here too he established a military commander called a Duke. And at a place two

¹ μεταλαμβάνειν V, μεταλαγχάνειν A.

- ἡμέραιν δυοῖν Ὀρονῶν διέχοντι, οὗ δὴ Τζάνων
 τῶν Ὠκενιτῶν καλουμένων τὰ ὄρια ἐστίν (ἐπεὶ
 ἐς ἔθνη πολλὰ διακέκρινται Τζάνοι), ἐνταῦθά τι
 ὀχύρωμα πεποιημένον ἦν τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις,
 ἐρείπιον ἤδη πολλῷ πρότερον τῷ ἀπημελήσθαι
 19 γεγενημένον, Χαρτῶν ὄνομα. ὅπερ ἀνανεωσά-
 μενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἐνοικεῖν τε ἀνθρώπων
 ἐνταῦθα διεπράξατο μέγα τι χρῆμα καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν
 20 εὐκοσμίαν τῇ χώρᾳ φρουρεῖν. τῷ δὲ ἐνθένδε
 ἰόντι πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον φάραγξ ἐστὶ κρημνώδης,
 κατατείνουσα μέχρι ἐς τὰ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον.
 οὗ δὴ φρούριον, Βαρχῶν ὄνομα, ἐδείματο νέον.
 21 ἐπέκεινα δὲ κατὰ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν ὑπώρειαν ἐπαύλεις
 εἰσίν, ἵνα δὴ οἱ Τζάνων τῶν Ὠκενιτῶν καλουμένων
 βόες αὐλίζονται, οὓςπερ ἐκτρέφουσιν οὐ τοῦ
 ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν ἕνεκα, ἐπεὶ ἀργοί τε τὸ παράπαν
 οἱ Τζάνοι εἰσὶ καὶ γεωργικῶν ἀλλότριοι πόνων,
 ἧπέρ μοι εἴρηται, καὶ οὔτε ἀρόματά ἐστίν αὐτοῖς
 οὔτε ἄλλα τῆς γεωργίας διαπονήματα, ἀλλὰ τοῦ
 γε γάλα ἐς αἰὲ βδάλλειν¹ καὶ σιτίζεσθαι τοῖς
 22 αὐτῶν κρέασι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τὸν πρόποδα,
 οὗ Κενὰ τὸ χωρίον ἐν τῷ ὁμαλῷ ξυμβαίνει εἶναι,
 ἐνθένδε τοι ἰόντι ἐπὶ δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, τὸ
 B 260 Σισιλιισσῶν ὄνομα φρούριόν ἐστιν, ὅπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ
 μὲν πεποιημένον, ἔρημον δὲ διὰ χρόνου μῆκος
 γεγενημένον ἀνανεωσάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς
 διαρκές Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν, ὥςπερ καὶ τοῖς
 23 ἄλλοις ἅπασι, φυλακτῆριον κατεστήσατο. ἐνθεν
 δὲ ἰόντι ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πρὸς βορρᾶν ἄνεμον χῶρός
 τίς ἐστιν, ὅνπερ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Λογγίνου
 P 62 φοσσᾶτον, ἐπεὶ Λογγίνος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις

¹ βδάλλειν A, βάλλει V.

days' journey distant from Horonôn, where the territory of the Tzani who are called Ocenitæ commences (for the Tzani are divided into many tribes), there was a sort of stronghold built by men of former times, Chartôn by name, which long before had already become a ruin through neglect. This the Emperor Justinian restored, and he caused a large population to live there and to preserve order in the country. And as one goes from there towards the east, there is a precipitous ravine which extends around to the north; here he built a new fortress, Barchôn by name. Beyond this at the foot of the mountain are folds where the cattle of the Ocenite Tzani, as they are called, find shelter; and they breed these cattle, not in order to plough the earth—for the Tzani are altogether indolent and averse to the tasks of husbandry, as I have said,¹ and they neither plough nor perform the other labours of husbandry—but in order to have a constant supply of milk and to eat their flesh. Beyond the foothills of the mountain, where the place called Cena lies in the level country, as one goes approximately westward there is a fort named Sississôn; this had been built in ancient times, but, with the passage of time, had come to be deserted; so the Emperor Justinian restored it and established there a sufficient garrison of Roman soldiers, just as in all the others. And as one goes on from that fort, there is a certain place on the left, towards the north, which the natives call Longini Fossatum,² because in earlier times Longinus, a Roman general,

¹ Cf. III. vi. 2.

² "The Trench of Longinus."

Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, Ἰσαυρος γένος, στρα-
 τεύσας ἐπὶ Τζάνους ποτὲ τῇδε πεποιήται τὸ
 24 στρατόπεδον. ἐνταῦθα φρούριον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος
 ὄνομα Βουργουσνός δεδημιούργηκεν, ἡμέρας ὁδῶ
 25 Σισιλισσῶν διέχον. ὅπερ Σισιλισσῶν φρούριόν
 ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς
 μικρὸν ἐρρήθη ἔμπροσθεν, ἐξειργασμένον βεβαί-
 26 τατα. ἐντεῦθεν ὄρια τῶν Τζάνων τῶν Κοξυλίνων
 καλουμένων ἐστίν· οὐ δὴ φρούρια νῦν πεποιήται
 δύο, τό τε Σχαμαλινίχων καλούμενον καὶ ὅπερ
 Τζανζάκων ἐπονομάζουσιν· ἐνθα δὴ καὶ ἄλλον
 ἄρχοντα στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο.

ζ'. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν Τζάνοις Ἰουστινιανῶ
 βασιλεῖ εἵργασται. ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ μετ' αὐτοῦς
 χώρα, ἣ παρὰ τὸν Εὐξείνον οἰκεῖται Πόντον,
 πόλις ἐστὶ πον, Τραπεζοῦς ὄνομα· οὐ δὴ ἀπορίας
 ὑδάτων οὔσης, ὅχετόν ἐτεκτήνατο Ἰουστινιανὸς
 βασιλεὺς ὃνπερ Εὐγενίου καλοῦσι μάρτυρος, ταύτη
 τε τὴν ἀπορίαν τοῖς τῇδε ὠκημένοις διέλυσεν.
 2 ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἀμασειᾷ τὰ πλείστα τῶν
 ἱερῶν ἀνεενώσατο, χρόνῳ πεπονηκότα πολλῶ.
 3 μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Τραπεζουντίων ὅρους χωρίον ἐστὶ
 Ῥιζαῖον ὄνομα, ὃ δὴ καινουργήσας αὐτὸς ὀχύρωμα
 περιβέβληκε¹ λόγου τε καὶ ἀκοῆς κρεῖσσον.
 4 πόλεων γὰρ τῶν Πέρσαις ὁμόρων οὐδεμιᾶς ἦσσαν
 μεγέθους πέρι καὶ ἀσφαλείας δεδημιούργηται.
 B 261 5 Καὶ φρούριον δὲ ὠκοδομήσατο ἐπὶ Λαζικῆς
 Λοσόριον ὄνομα, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ στενωποὺς
 ἐτειχίσατο οὗσπερ Κλεισούρας καλεῖν νενομίκασιν,
 ὅπως δὴ ἀποκεκλεισμένοι τῆς ἐπὶ Λαζικῇν

¹ περιβέβληκε A, περιβέβληται V.

an Isaurian by birth, had made an expedition against the Tzani on one occasion and built his camp there. In that place this Emperor built a fortress called Bourgousnoes, one day's journey distant from Sisilissôn. This fort of Sisilissôn too was rendered very strong by this same Emperor, as was stated a little above. From there begins the territory of the Coxyline Tzani, as they are called; and here he has now made two forts, one called Schamalinichôn and the other is the one they call Tzanzacôn; and here he posted another military commander.

vii. These things, then, were done by the Emperor Justinian in Tzanica. In the land beyond this which lies along the Euxine Sea there is a city named Trapezus;¹ and since there was a scarcity of water in that city, the Emperor Justinian built an aqueduct which they call the Aqueduct of the martyr Eugenius, and thus he put an end to the scarcity for the inhabitants of this place. Both there and in Amaseia he restored most of the churches, which had been damaged by the long passage of time. And beyond the confines of Trapezus there is a place called Rhizaeum² which he restored himself, throwing about it a novel system of defences which surpass any description or report of them. For it was so fashioned as to be inferior in point of size and safety to no one of the cities on the Persian frontier.

He also built a fortress in Lazica named Losorium, and he fortified the mountain-passes of the country which they are wont to call *cleisurae*,³ with the purpose, of course, that the enemy might be shut off

¹ Modern Trebizond.

² Modern Risê, a port on the Black Sea.

³ See above, Chap. iii. 2, note.

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- 6 εἰσόδου οἱ πολέμοι εἶεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐν Λαζοῖς
τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀρχαίαν τε οὖσαν
καὶ σαθρὰν τῇ οἰκοδομίᾳ γεγενημένην, ἀνενεώσατο.
- 7 οὕτω καὶ Πέτραν ἐν Λαζοῖς πόλιν ἀξιοθέατον
κατεστήσατο, ἥνπερ Λαζοὶ μὲν ἀβουλία τῇ
σφετέρᾳ παρέδωσαν Πέρσαις, Χοσρόην ἐνταῦθα
στρατῶ μεγάλῳ ἐπαγαγόμενοι, Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Περ-
σῶν καθυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ γενόμενοι καὶ τοὺς
μὲν κτείναντες τοὺς δὲ δορυαλώτους πεποιημένοι,
ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν καθεῖλον, ὥς μὴ αὖθις οἱ
βάρβαροι κακουργεῖν ἔχοιεν ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες, ἥπερ
μοι ἅπαντα ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται
- 8 λόγοις· ἵνα δὴ καὶ τοῦτό μοι δεδιήγῃται, ὥς ἐν
τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ ἐκ Λαζικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Μαιώτιν
ἰόντι λίμνην φρούρια δύο, Σεβαστούπολιν τε καὶ
P 63 Πιτυοῦντα, καθεῖλον Ῥωμαῖοι, Χοσρόην ἀκού-
σαντες στράτευμα στέλλειν ἐνταῦθα διὰ σπουδῆς
ἔχειν τοὺς τε ¹ τὰ φρούρια ταῦτα κατέξοντας.
- 9 ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ταύτην δὴ τὴν
Σεβαστούπολιν ² ἀνανεωσάμενος ξύμπασαν, καὶ τῷ
μὲν περιβόλῳ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὀχυρώμασι πεποιημένος
ἀνάλωτον, ταῖς δὲ ἀγυιαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις οἰκοδομίαις
διακοσμήσας, τῷ τε κάλλει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει πόλιν
τανῦν ἀξιολογωτάτην ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα κατεστήσατο.
- 10 Καὶ μὴν καὶ Βοσπόρου καὶ Χερσῶνος πόλεων, ³
αἵπερ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀκτὴν ἐπιθαλασσίδιαι
μετὰ λίμνην τε τὴν Μαιώτιδα καὶ τοὺς Ταύρους
καὶ Ταυροσκύθας ἐν ἐσχάτῳ οἰκοῦνται ⁴ τῆς
B 262 Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς, πεπονηκότα παντάπασιν τὰ

¹ τοὺς τε Haury: τοὺς.

² After Σεβαστούπολιν A adds φρούριον οὖσαν τὸ πρότερον.

³ πόλεων Maltretus: πόλεως.

from the entrance into Lazica. Nay more, he restored the Christian church in Lazica, which was old and had become weakened in its masonry. He likewise founded Petra in Lazica, an admirable city, which the Lazi through their own folly handed over to the Persians, bringing Chosroes there with a great army; but the Romans prevailed over the Persians in the struggle and killed a part of the enemy and made the rest captive and razed the city, so that the barbarians might not again be able, by coming there, to work mischief, all of which has been set forth by me in the Books on the Wars.¹ In the same place I have explained how the Romans dismantled two fortresses, Sebastopolis² and Pityûs,³ on the opposite coast as one goes from Lazica to the Maeotic Lake,⁴ because they had heard that Chosroes was eager to send an army with men to take possession of these fortresses. But at a later time the Emperor Justinian restored the whole of Sebastopolis and made it impregnable by means of its circuit-wall and other defences, adorned it with streets and with various buildings besides, and produced the present city, which is remarkable among the cities of the world for its beauty and its size.

Moreover, in the case of the coastal cities Bosphorus⁵ and Chersôn,⁶ which lie on the shore there beyond the Maeotic Lake and the Taurians and Tauroscythians, at the extremity of the Roman Empire, he found that the walls had fallen completely into ruin,

¹ VIII. xii. 28.

² Near the older city of Dioscurias

³ Modern Pitzunda.

⁴ Modern Sea of Azov.

⁵ Generally called Panticapæum; modern Kertsch.

⁶ Modern Sevastopol.

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- 11 τείχη εὐρὼν ἐς μέγα τι κάλλους τε καὶ ἀσφα-
 λείας κατεστήσατο χρήμα. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ φρούρια
 12 πεποίηται τό τε Ἀλούστου καλούμενον καὶ τὸ
 ἐν Γορζουβίταις. διαφερόντως δὲ τὴν Βόσπορον
 τῷ ἐρύματι ἐκρατύνατο, ἥνπερ ἐκ παλαιοῦ βεβαρ-
 βαρωμένην καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς Οὐννοῖς κειμένην ἐς τὸ
 13 Ῥωμαίων αὐτὸς μετήνεγκε κράτος. ἔστι δέ τις
 ἐνταῦθα χώρα κατὰ τὴν παραλίαν, Δόρου ὄνομα,
 ἵνα δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ Γότθοι ὤκηνται οἱ Θευδερίχῳ
 ἐς Ἰταλίαν ἰόντι οὐκ ἐπισπόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐθελούσιοι
 αὐτοῦ μέιναντες, Ῥωμαίων καὶ εἰς ἐμέ εἰσιν
 ἔνσπονδοι· ξυνστρατεύουσὶ τε αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ πολε-
 14 μίους τοὺς σφετέρους ἰοῦσιν, ἥνίκα ἂν βασιλεῖ
 βουλομένῳ εἴη. ἐξικνουῦνται δὲ ἐς τρισχιλίους,
 καὶ τά τε πολέμια ἔργα εἰσὶν ἄριστοι τά τε ἐς
 τὴν γεωργίαν αὐτουργοὶ δεξιοί, καὶ φιλοξενώ-
 15 τατοι δὲ εἰσιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων. αὕτῃ δὲ ἡ
 χώρα τὸ Δόρου τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐν ὑψηλῷ κεῖται, οὐ
 μέντοι οὔτε¹ τραχεῖα οὔτε¹ σκληρά ἐστιν, ἀλλ'
 ἀγαθὴ τε καὶ εὐφορος καρπῶν τῶν ἀρίστων.
 16 πόλιν μὲν οὖν ἢ φρούριον οὐδαμῇ τῆς χώρας ὁ
 βασιλεὺς ἐδείματο ταύτης, κατείργεσθαι περι-
 βόλοις τισὶν οὐκ ἀνεχομένων τῶν τῇδε ἀνθρώπων,
 17 ἀλλ' ἐν πεδίῳ ἀσμενέστατα ὠκημένων αἰεί. ὅπη
 ποτὲ δὲ τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων βάσιμα εὐπετῶς τοῖς
 ἐπιούσιν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ταύτας δὴ τειχίσμασι
 μακροῖς τὰς εἰσόδους περιβαλὼν, τὰς ἐκ τῆς
 ἐφόδου φροντίδας ἀνέστειλε Γότθοις. ταῦτα μὲν
 οὖν τῇδε πη ἔχει.
 18 Πόλιν δὲ τινα ἐπιθαλασσίαν οἰκοῦσι Θράκες
 παρὰ τὴν ἡϊόνα τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου, Ἀγχιάλον
 ὄνομα, ἥσπερ ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ μνησθείμεν ἂν,
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and he made them remarkably beautiful and thoroughly safe. In that region he built two fortresses, that called Aloustou and the one among the Gorzoubitae. He strengthened the defences of Bosphorus particularly, which in ancient times had been a barbarous city lying under the power of the Huns, but which he himself had brought under Roman sway. And there is a certain region along the coast there called Dory, where Goths have lived from ancient times, those namely who had not followed Theoderic when he went into Italy, but remained there of their own accord, and even up to my day they are on terms of alliance with the Romans. And they march with the Romans against their enemies whenever the Emperor so wishes. Their number comes to three thousand, and they are both excellent soldiers and skilful tillers of the soil, and the most hospitable people in the world. The land of Dory itself lies on high ground, yet it is neither rough nor hard, but good soil and productive of the best crops. However, the Emperor built no city or fortress in any part of this land, since the men of the country would not suffer themselves to be confined in any fortified places but always lived most happily in an open plain. But wherever the region seemed easily accessible to assailants, he shut off these approaches with long walls and thereby freed the Goths from fear of invasion. So much, then, for this.

There is a certain city on the coast of the Euxine Sea, inhabited by Thracians, Anchialus¹ by name, which properly we should mention in describing the

¹ Modern Ankhialo.

¹ οὔτε . . . οὔτε Dindorf: οὐδέ . . . οὐδέ.

- 19 περιηγούμενοι τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία. ἐπεὶ
 ■ 263 δὲ τανῦν ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν διελήλυθεν ὅσα παρὰ τὴν
 ἀκτὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου δεδημιούργηται τῷ
 βασιλεῖ τούτῳ, οὐδέν τι χεῖρον ἀφηγήσασθαι
 ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου ὅσα δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀγχιάλου
 20 ταύτης ἐδείματο. ἐνταῦθα οὖν πηγαὶ θερμῶν
 φύσει ὑδάτων ἀναβλυστάνουσι, τῆς πόλεως οὐ
 πολλῷ ἄποθεν ἀπαντοματίζουσαι βαλανεῖα τοῖς
 21 τῇδε ἀνθρώποις· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χῶρον ἀτείχιστον
 ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντα ὑπερεώρων οἱ προβεβασιλευ-
 κότες τὰ πρότερα, καίπερ ἐν γειτόνων ὤκημένων
 P 64 αὐτῷ βαρβαρικῶν ἐθνῶν τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος.
 22 ἐπεχωρίαζόν τε αὐτῷ οἱ νενοσηκότες τὰ σώματα,
 μετὰ κινδύνων τὴν παραψυχὴν κομιζόμενοι.¹
 23 τειχίρη τοίνυν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πεποιημένος
 Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἀκίνδυνον διεπράξατο σφίσι
 24 τὴν ἄκεσιν εἶναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν γῆς τῆς ἐώας, ἔτι
 μέντοι καὶ Ἀρμενίας καὶ Τζανικῆς ὀχυρώματα
 καὶ τά γε ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὐξείνου Πόντον² τῇδε
 25 Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται. ἡμῖν δὲ ἐνθένδε
 ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας ἰτέον ἅσπερ ἐν Εὐρώπῃ τῇ
 ἄλλῃ πεποιήται.

B 264

ΛΟΓΟΣ Δ'

- P 65 α'. Πέλαγος μέγα νηὶ διαπλεῦσαι ἀπαρασκεύῳ
 μοχθηρόν τε ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι καὶ κινδύνων μεγάλων
 ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεων. ταῦτό δέ ἐστι τὰς³ Ἰουστι-
 νιανοῦ βασιλέως οἰκοδομίας λόγῳ φαυλοτάτῳ
 2 διαμετρήσασθαι. ψυχῆς γὰρ μεγέθει ὁ βασιλεὺς

¹ κομιζόμενοι V, πορίζόμενοι A.

² πόντον A, καλούμενοι πόντον V.

land of Thrace. But since in the present place our treatise has enumerated the buildings of this Emperor along the shore of the Euxine Sea, it is in no way inappropriate to describe at this point in our narrative what he built at this town of Anchialus. At that place, then, natural springs of warm water bubble forth, not far from the city, providing natural baths for the people there. The Emperors of earlier times used to allow this place to remain unwalled from ancient times, though such a host of barbarians dwelt near by; and sick persons used to visit the place, gaining relief at the cost of danger. Therefore the Emperor Justinian made it a walled city, as it now is, and thus made the cure free from danger. So the strongholds of the East, as well as those of Armenia and Tzanica, and those on both shores of the Euxine Sea, were thus built by the Emperor Justinian. From this point we must proceed to the buildings which he erected in the rest of Europe.

BOOK IV

i. To cross a great sea in an ill-appointed ship is a miserable task, I think, beset with the greatest dangers. And it is the same thing to recount the buildings of the Emperor Justinian with impotent words. For through the greatness of his mind this

² τὰς V, τὰς τοῦ A.

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P 66

- οὗτος τά τε ἄλλα, ὥς εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντα καὶ τὰ ἐς
 3 τὰς οἰκοδομίας οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν λόγου διαπέ-
 πρακται κρείσσω. ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ καὶ τὴν
 ὑπουργίαν ἐναρμόσασθαι τῷ τῆς χρείας ἀξιώματι
 4 διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχων ἔργα οὐκ εὐδιήγητα οὐδὲ εἰς
 γὰρ ἐπαξίως τῷ τε γειτονήματι ποταμοῦ Ἰστροῦ
 καὶ τῇ ἐνθένδε διὰ τοὺς ἐγκειμένους τῇ χώρᾳ
 5 βαρβάρους ἀνάγκη. ἔθνη γὰρ αὐτῇ γειτονοῦντα
 διακεκλήρωται ¹ Οὐννικά τε καὶ Γοτθικά, καὶ τὰ
 ἐν Ταύροις καὶ τὰ ἐν Σκύθαις ἀνταίρει, καὶ ὅσα
 B 265 Σκλαβηνοὶ καὶ ὅσα ἄττα, ² εἴτε Σαυρομάτας
 Ἀμαξοβίους εἴτε Μετανάστας ταῦτα δὴ ἐκάλουν
 τὰ ἔθνη οἱ τῶν ἱστοριῶν ἀναγραφάμενοι τὰ
 ἀρχαιότατα, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο θηριῶδες ἀνθρώπων
 γένος ἢ νέμεσθαι, ἢ ἰδρύσθαι ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει.
 6 οἷς δὴ ἀπέραντα πολεμῃσείουσιν ὑπαντιάζειν
 διατεινομένῳ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πάρεργόν τε
 οὐδέν ποιουμένῳ ἐπάναγκες ἦν ἐρύματά τε
 περιβάλλεσθαι ἀνάριθμα καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἀμύθητα
 φυλακτήρια καταστήσασθαι, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πολε-
 μίοις ἀνεπικηρυκεύτοις τε καὶ ἀνεπιμίκτοις ἐμπόδια
 7 εἶη. οἷς δὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἐξ
 αἰτίας ἐγειρομένοις ³ ποιεῖσθαι νόμος, οὐδὲ μετὰ
 πρεσβείαν ἐπενεγκεῖν, οὐδὲ μὴν οὐδὲ ξυνθήκαις
 διαλύσαί τισιν, ἢ κατὰ χρόνον ἀνακωχεῦσαι, ἀλλ'

¹ γειτονοῦντα διακεκλήρωται V, γειτονοῦσιν A.

² ἄττα V, ἄλλα Maltretus.

³ ἐγειρομένοις Hoeschel: ἐγειρομένης.

¹ For the Sauromatae cf. Herodotus, IV. xxi, etc. Both

Emperor has accomplished things which surpass description, in buildings no less than in practically all other matters. And in Europe, being consumed by the desire to make his services fit the magnitude of the need which existed for them, he has carried out works which are not easy to enumerate or simple to describe in writing. For these works have been executed with due regard for the nearness of the Ister River and for the consequent necessity imposed by the barbarians who threaten the land. For it has as neighbours nations of Huns and of Goths, and the regions of Taurus and of Scythia rise up against it, as well as the haunts of the Sclaveni and of sundry other tribes—whether they are called by the writers of the most ancient history Hamaxibian or Metanastic Sauromatae,¹ and whatever other wild race of men really either roams about or leads a settled life in that region. And in his determination to resist these barbarians who were endlessly making war, the Emperor Justinian, who did not take the matter lightly, was obliged to throw innumerable fortresses about the country, to assign to them untold garrisons of troops, and to set up all other possible obstacles to an enemy who attacked without warning and who permitted no intercourse. Indeed it was the custom of these peoples to rise and make war upon their enemies for no particular cause, and to open hostilities without sending an embassy, and they did not bring their struggles to an end through any treaty or cease operations for any specified

epithets of the Sauromatians (“Living in waggons” and “Migraters”) describe their mode of life. A Scythian race, their habitat included European Russia and westward to the Vistula River.

- ἐγχειρῆσαι μὲν ἀπροφασίστως, καταλῦσαι δὲ
 σιδήρῳ μόνῳ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τὰ
 8 λειπόμενα βαδιούμεθα. ἔργου γὰρ¹ ἀρξαμέ-
 νους² τρόπῳ ὁτῶν ἐς πέρας ἀφίχθαι ξυνοίσει
 μᾶλλον ἢ ἀτελεύτητον ἀπολιπόντας ὀπίσω ἰέναι.
 9 ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄλλως ἂν οὐκ ἔξω κατηγορίας τὸ πρᾶγμα
 εἶη, βασιλέα μὲν τὸν ἡμέτερον εἰργάσθαι τὰ
 ἔργα, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποκνεῖν λόγους.
 10 μέλλοντας δὲ τὰ Εὐρωπαϊα τοῦτου δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως
 διαριθμῆσθαι οἰκοδομήματα, ὀλίγα ἅττα ἀμφὶ
 τῇδε τῇ χώρᾳ ὑπειπεῖν ἄξιον.
 11 Ἐκ τοῦ Ἀδριατικοῦ καλουμένου πελάγους
 ἐπιρροή τις διωθουμένη τε καὶ ἀποσαλεύουσα τῆς
 ἄλλης θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν ἡπειρον ἀναβαίνει, καὶ
 σχίζουσα τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ πλείστον ποιεῖται τὸν
 Ἰόνιον κόλπον, ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν Ἠπειρώτας τε καὶ
 τὰ ἐκείνη ἔθνη, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Καλαβροὺς
 B 266 ἔχουσα, ἐν τε πορθμῷ ἐπὶ μακρότατον θλιβομένη
 περιλαμβάνει τὴν ἡπειρον σχεδόν τι πᾶσαν.
 12 καθύπερθε δὲ ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ θαλάσση φερόμενος
 ποταμὸς Ἰστρος γῆς τῆς Εὐρώπης νησοειδῇ τὴν
 13 γῆν τίθεται. ἐνταῦθα οἰκοδομήματα πολλὰ τε
 καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος πεποιήται.
 14 πᾶσαν γὰρ Εὐρώπην ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τειχισά-
 μενος ἀπρόσβατον κατεστήσατο βαρβάροις εἶναι³
 οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ Ἰστροῦ ποταμοῦ ᾤκηται.
 15 Ἀλλὰ μοι ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρκτέον
 πατρίδος, ἣ πασῶν μάλιστα τὰ τε πρωτεῖα ἐν
 πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τοῦδε τὰς ἀπαρχὰς τοῦ

¹ ἔργου γὰρ A, ἔργω οἶν V.

² ἀρξαμένους Haury: ἀρξαμένου.

³ εἶναι V, om. A.

period, but they made their attacks without provocation and reached a decision by the sword alone. But still we must proceed to the remainder of our story. For when we have begun a task it will be better to go through to the end in any fashion whatever than to depart leaving it unfinished. Certainly my action would not be free from blame, if, after our Emperor has performed the work, I for my part, should shrink from telling of what he has done. But now that we are on the point of enumerating the buildings of this Emperor in Europe, it is proper first to make a few observations regarding this land.

There is a narrow arm or bight which is pushed out from the Adriatic Sea, as it is called, and strays away from the remainder of the sea and goes up into the mainland, and dividing the continent for a great distance it forms the Ionian Gulf, having on the right the Epirotes and the other peoples of that region and on the left Calabria; then, being compressed into a narrow inlet for a very long way, the sea bounds practically the whole continent.¹ And the River Ister, flowing higher up,² and opposite the sea, makes the land of Europe an island, as it were. In that region this Emperor built many noteworthy buildings. Indeed he fortified the whole of Europe so safely that he rendered it inaccessible to the barbarians who live beyond the Ister River.

But I must commence from the native land of the Emperor, to which of all places must be given first rank in all other respects, and with this I must begin

¹ See the description of the Adriatic Sea in *Wars*, V. xv. 16, and the note there. By "Adriatic" here is meant a part of the Mediterranean; Procopius' "Ionian Gulf" is our Adriatic Sea.

² *I.e.* farther to the north.

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- P 67 16 λόγου δοτέον. αὐτῇ γὰρ ἂν μόνῃ ὀγκοῦσθαι τε καὶ διαθρύπτεσθαι καὶ ἀποσεμνύνεσθαι πρέποι βασιλέα Ῥωμαίοις θρεψαμένην τε καὶ παρασχομένην τοιοῦτον, οὗ δὴ τὰ ἔργα καὶ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν καὶ γραφῇ παρακαταθέσθαι ἀμήχανον.¹
- 17 Ἐν Δαρδάνοις πρὸς τοῖς Εὐρωπαίοις, οἳ δὴ μετὰ τοὺς Ἐπιδαμνίων ὄρους ὤκηνται, τοῦ φρουρίου ἄγχιστα ὅπερ Βεδερίανα ἐπικαλεῖται, χωρίον Ταυρίσιον ὄνομα ἦν, ἔνθεν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης οἰκιστὴς ὤρμηται.
- 18 τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ χωρίον ἐν βραχεῖ τειχισάμενος κατὰ τὸ τετράγωνον σχῆμα καὶ γωνία ἐκάστη πύργον ἐνθέμενος Τετραπυργίαν εἶναι τε καὶ
- 19 καλεῖσθαι πεποίηκε. παρ' αὐτὸ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ χωρίον πόλιν ἐπιφανεστάτην ἔδειματο, ἣνπερ Ἰουστινιανὴν ὠνόμασε Πρίμαν (πρώτη δὲ τοῦτο τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ δύναται) ταῦτα τῇ θρεψαμένῃ
- 20 τροφείᾳ ἐκτίνων. καίτοι Ῥωμαίους ἐχρῆν ἅπαντας τοῦτο δὴ ἀλλήλοις ἐπικοινωνῆσαι τὸ ὄφλημα, ἐπεὶ καὶ σωτῆρα ἐθρέψατο ἡ χώρα κοινὸν ἅπασιν.
- B 267 21 ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ὀχετὸν τεκτηνάμενος ὕδασι τὴν πόλιν ἀειρρύτοις διεπράξατο ἐπιεικῶς πλήθειν.
- 22 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τῷ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστῇ ὑπέρογκά τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ διαπεπύνηται
- 23 ἄξια. θεοῦ μὲν τεμένη διαριθμεῖσθαι οὐ ράδια, καταγώγια δὲ ἀρχόντων φράζεσθαι λόγῳ ἀμήχανα, στοῶν μεγέθη, ἀγορῶν κάλλη, τὰς κρήνας, τὰς
- 24 ἀγυιάς, τὰ βαλανεῖα, τὰ πωλητήρια. πόλις ἀπλῶς μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἄλλα

¹ ἀμήχανον V, ἀμήχανα A.

my present account. For to this land alone is it given to rejoice and swell with pride and enjoy the solemn dignity of having bred and presented to the Romans an Emperor whose works it is impossible to tell in words or to record in writing.

Among the Dardanians of Europe who live beyond the boundaries of the Epidamnians, close to the fortress which is called Bederiana, there was a hamlet named Taurisium, whence sprang the Emperor Justinian, the founder of the civilised world.¹ He therefore built a wall of small compass about this place in the form of a square, placing a tower at each corner, and caused it to be called, as it actually is, Tetrapyrgia.² And close by this place he built a very notable city which he named Justiniana Prima³ (this means "first" in the Latin tongue), thus paying a debt of gratitude to the home that fostered him. Yet all Romans should have shared this debt among themselves, for this land nourished a common saviour for all of them. In that place also he constructed an aqueduct and so caused the city to be abundantly supplied with ever-running water. And many other enterprises were carried out by the founder of this city—works of great size and worthy of especial note. For to enumerate the churches is not easy, and it is impossible to tell in words of the lodgings for magistrates, the great stoas, the fine market-places, the fountains, the streets, the baths, the shops. In brief, the city is both great and

¹ Cf. N. Vulić, "L'Origine ethnique de l'empereur Justinien," *Actes du IV^e congrès international des études byzantines, Sofia, 1934* (*Bull. de l'Inst. arch. Bulgare*, ix. 1935), pp. 400-405.

² "Four Towers," modern Ochrida.

³ Modern Scupi.

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- εὐδαίμων καὶ οἷα τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης μητρόπολις ¹
 25 εἶναι· εἰς ἀξιώματος γὰρ τοσόνδε ἦκει. πρὸς
 δὲ καὶ τὸν ² Ἰλλυριῶν ἀρχιερέα διακεκλήρωται,
 τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων αὐτῇ, ἅτε πρώτῃ τὸ μέγεθος
 οὔσῃ, ἐξισταμένων. ὥστε καὶ ἀνθυπουργήκε τῷ
 26 βασιλεῖ κλέος· ἡ μὲν γὰρ τροφίμῳ ἀποσεμνύνεται
 βασιλεῖ, ὃ δὲ ἀντιφιλοτιμεῖται δεδημιουργηκέναι
 τὴν πόλιν. καὶ μοι ἄχρι τοῦδε εἰπεῖν ἀποχρήσει.
 27 ἅπαντα γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς λεπτολογεῖσθαι ἀμήχα-
 ρον, ἐπεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ προσηκούσης τῆς πόλεως
 ἐλασσοῦσθαι αὐτῆς ἅπαντα λόγον ἐπάναγκες.
 28 Ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Βεδερίανα τὸ φρούριον ἀνοικο-
 δομησάμενος ὅλον πολλῷ ὀχυρώτερον κατεστή-
 σατο. ἣν δέ τις ἐν Δαρδάνοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ πόλις
 29 ἦπερ Οὐλπιᾶνα ὠνόμαστο. ταύτης τὸν περίβολον
 καθελὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον (ἦν γὰρ σφαλερὸς
 ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ὅλως ἀχρεῖος) ἄλλα τε αὐτῇ
 παμπληθῇ ἐγκαλλωπίσματα ποιησάμενος, ἔς τε
 τὴν νῦν μεταθέμενος εὐκοσμίαν, Σεκοῦνδαν αὐτὴν
 30 Ἰουστινιανὴν ἐπωνόμασε. σεκοῦνδαν γὰρ τὴν
 δευτέραν Λατῖνοι λέγουσι.³ καὶ ἄλλην δὲ αὐτῇ
 πλησίον ἐδείματο πόλιν οὐ πρότερον οὔσαν, ἣνπερ
 Ἰουστινούπολιν τῷ θείῳ ὁμωνύμως ἐκάλεσεν.
 P 268 31 ἀλλὰ καὶ Σαρδικῆς καὶ Ναῖσουπόλεως, ἔτι μέντοι
 Γερμαῆς τε καὶ Πανταλείας διερρωγότα τῷ
 χρόνῳ τὰ τεῖχη εὐρῶν οἰκοδομησάμενός τε ξὺν
 τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἅμαχα τοῖς πολεμίοις διεπράξατο
 32 εἶναι. καὶ πολίχνια δὲ τούτων δὴ μεταξὺ ἐδεί-

¹ μητρόπολις V, μητρόπολιν A.

² τὸν A, τῶν V.

³ Λατῖνοι λέγουσι V, καλοῦσι A.

¹ Modern Lipjan.

² Called Triaditza in medieval times; modern Sofia.

populous and blessed in every way—a city worthy to be the metropolis of the whole region, for it has attained this rank. It has also been allotted to the Archbishop of Illyricum as his seat, the other cities conceding this honour to it, as being first in point of size. Thus this city has won honour for the Emperor in requital for his favour; for while it prides itself upon its foster-son, he for his part takes a corresponding pride in that he built the city. But this will be enough for me to tell; indeed it is impossible to describe everything in detail, for since the city is the Emperor's own, any account of it necessarily falls short of the reality.

He also rebuilt the entire fortress of Bederiana and made it much stronger. And there was a certain city among the Dardanians, dating from ancient times, which was named Ulpiana;¹ he tore down most of its circuit-wall, for it was seriously damaged and altogether useless, and he added a very great number of improvements to the city, changing it to its present fair aspect; and he named it Justiniana Secunda (*secunda* is the Latin word for second). Near it he built another city where none had existed before, which he called Justinopolis from his uncle's name. Furthermore, he found the walls of Sardica² and Naïropolis,³ as well as those of Germaê and of Pantalia,⁴ in ruins from the passage of time, and he built them up securely and made them such that they could defy the enemy. Between these he built

³ Naïssus, modern Nish.

⁴ A mistake for Pautalia; the place is mentioned again in the list below, Chap. iv, ὑπὸ πόλιν Παντά. Cf. A. Salač, "The City of Pautalia in Procopius, *περὶ κτισμάτων*," *Listy filologické*, lviii. 1931, pp. 392-395, in Czech, with French summary, p. 487.

- ματό τρία, Κρατίσκαρά τε καὶ Κουιμέδαβα καὶ
 'Ρουμισιάνα. οὕτω μὲν οὖν τάσδε τὰς πόλεις
 33 ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνέστησε. πρόβολου δὲ ἰσχυρό-
 τατον αὐτῶν τε καὶ πάσης Εὐρώπης Ἰστρον
 ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι ἐθέλων, ἐρύμασι τοῦ ποταμοῦ
 τὴν ἡϊόνα περιβάλλει συχνοῖς, ὥσπερ μοι γε-
 γράφεται οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, φυλακτήριά τε
 στρατιωτῶν πανταχόθι τέθεται τῆς ἀκτῆς, ἀναχαι-
 τίσοντα τὴν διάβασιν βεβαιότατα τοῖς τῆδε
 34 βαρβάροις. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων οἱ ἐξεργασμένων,
 ὑπόπτως ἐς τῆς ἀνθρωπείας ἐλπίδος τὸ σφαλερὸν
 ἔχων, λογισάμενός τε ὡς εἰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὅτῳ
 δὴ ποτε τρόπῳ διαπορθμεύσασθαι δυνατὰ εἴη,
 ἐπιθήσονται ἀφυλάκτοις τὸ παράπαν τοῖς ἀγροῖς
 οὔσι, καὶ ἀνθρώπους μὲν ἐξανδραποδιοῦσιν ἡβηδὸν
 ἅπαντας, χρήματα δὲ ληΐσονται¹ πάντα, οὐκ
 ἐπὶ κοινῆς αὐτοῖς μόνον τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐν τοῖς
 κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀχυρώμασιν ἀπέλιπεν εἶναι,
 35 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδίαν πεποιήται· οὕτω συνεχῇ τὰ
 ἐρύματα ἐν τοῖς χωρίοις ἀπεργασάμενος ὥστε
 ἀγρὸς ἕκαστος ἢ φρούριον ἀποτετόρνενται, ἢ τῷ
 τετειχισμένῳ πρόσοικός ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθά τε κἂν
 τῇ Ἡπείρῳ τῇ τε νέᾳ καὶ τῇ παλαιᾷ καλουμένη.
 36 οὗ δὲ καὶ πόλις αὐτῷ πεποιήται Ἰουστινιανου-
 πολις, ἢ πρότερον Ἀδριανούπολις καλουμένη.
 37 Ἀνενέωσατο δὲ Νικόπολιν τε καὶ Φωτικὴν καὶ
 τὴν Φοινίκην ὠνομασμένην. αἱ δύο αὗται πολίχ-
 ναι, ἣ τε Φωτικὴ καὶ ἡ Φοινίκη, ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ
 τῆς γῆς ἔκειντο, ὕδασι περιρρεόμεναι τῇδε λιμ-
 38 νάζουσι. διὸ δὲ λογισάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασι-
 λεὺς εἶναι ἀμήχανα ἐπὶ στερρᾷ θεμελίῳ συνθήκης

¹ ληίσονται V, ληίσουτο A.

three small forts, Cratiscara and Quimedaba and Roumisiana. Thus he raised these cities from their foundations. And wishing, as he did, to make the Ister River the strongest possible line of first defence before them and before the whole of Europe, he distributed numerous forts along the bank of the river, as I shall soon describe, and he placed garrisons of troops everywhere along the shore, in order to put the most rigid check upon the crossing of the barbarians there. But even after he had completed all these precautions, he was still uneasy because of the uncertainty of human plans; and since he reflected that if it should ever be possible for the enemy to break through somehow, they would then fall upon fields which would be entirely unguarded, would enslave the whole population, from the youths upwards, and would plunder all their property, he did not leave their common safety to depend upon the forts along the river alone, but he also provided individual safeguards for them; for he made the defences so continuous in the estates that each farm either has been converted into a stronghold or lies adjacent to one which is fortified; and he did this both here and in New Epirus, as it is called, and in Old Epirus.¹ Here too he built the city of Justinianopolis, which formerly was called Adrianopolis.²

And he restored Nicopolis and Photicê and the place called Phoenicê. These two towns, namely Photicê and Phoenicê, stood on low-lying ground and were surrounded by stagnant water which collected there. Consequently the Emperor Justinian, reasoning that it was impossible for walls to be built about

¹ Cf. page 250, note 2. ² Modern Adrianople or Edirne.

- περιβόλους αὐταῖς ἀναστῆναι, αὐτὰς μὲν ἐπὶ
 σχήματος τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶασε, φρούρια δὲ αὐτῶν
 ἀγχοτάτω ἔν τε ἀνάντει καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ὀρθίω
 39 ἐδείματο. ἦν δέ τις ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἀρχαία,
 ὕδασιν ἐπιεικῶς κατακορῆς οὔσα, ὀνόματός τε
 τῆς τοῦ χωρίου φύσεως ἀξίου ἐπιτυχοῦσα.¹
 40 Εὐροία γὰρ ἀνέκαθεν ὠνομάζετο. ταύτης δὲ
 τῆς Εὐροίας οὐ πολλῶ ἀποθεν λίμνη κέχυται καὶ
 νήσος κατὰ² μέσον ἀνέχει καὶ λόφος αὐτῇ
 41 ἐπανέστηκε. διαλείπει δὲ ἡ λίμνη τοσοῦτον,
 ὅσον τινὰ ἐν εἰσόδου μοίρᾳ τῇ νήσῳ λελεῖφθαι.
 42 ἔνθα δὴ βασιλεὺς τοὺς τῆς Εὐροίας μεταβιβάσας
 οἰκήτορας, πόλιν ὀχυρωτάτην οἰκοδομησάμενος
 ἐτειχίσατο.

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- β'. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἡπειρον ὅλην Αἰτωλοὺς τε
 καὶ Ἀκαρνανὰς παραδραμόντι ὃ τε Κρισαῖος³
 ἐκδέχεται⁴ κόλπος καὶ ὃ τε Ἴσθμὸς ἢ τε Κόρινθος
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τῆς Ἑλλάδος χωρία. ἔνθα δὴ τῆς
 παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰ μάλιστα προνοίας ἡξίωνται.
 2 μάλιστα δὲ⁵ πάντων θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις ὁπόσοις
 περιβόλοις ἐτειχίσατο τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. τῶν
 τε γὰρ ἄλλων προϋνόησε πάντων καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα
 3 τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἀνόδων. πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὰ
 τεῖχη ἐς ὕψος αὐτῷ ἀνέστη μέγα. ἦν γάρ, εἴ τις
 προσίοι, εὐπετῶς ἄλωτὰ καὶ οὐ τετειχισμένα τὰ
 ὄρη, ἃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, ἀλλ' ἀποτετριγγωμένα ἐδόκει
 4 εἶναι. οἷς δὴ καὶ διπλᾶς τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐντέθειται
 πάσας. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐξείρ-

¹ ἀξίου ἐπιτυχοῦσα added by Haury.

² κατὰ V, om. A.

³ Κρισαῖος Dindorf: σκερσαῖος.

⁴ ἐκδέχεται Maltretus: ἐδέχετο.

⁵ δὲ added by Hoeschel.

them on foundations of solid construction, left them just as they were, but close to them he built forts on rising ground which is exceedingly steep. There was a certain ancient city in this region, abundantly supplied with water and endowed with a name worthy of the place; for it was called Euroea¹ from ancient times. Not far from this Euroea a lake spreads out with an island in its midst upon which rises a hill. And a break is left in the lake just large enough so that a kind of approach to the island remains. The Emperor moved the inhabitants of Euroea to this place, built a very strong city, and put a wall about it.²

ii. Beyond³ the whole of Epirus and Aetolia and Acarnania, as one skirts the coast, one comes to the Crisaeian Gulf⁴ and the Isthmus and Corinth and the other parts of Greece. These regions made demands upon his very utmost wisdom. And above all else one might wonder at the number of walled cities with which he fortified the Roman Empire. For he made provision for all of them and especially for the by-paths up the mountains at Thermopylae. First of all he raised the walls there to a very great height. For the mountains which rise in that region were easy to capture, if one should assault them, they being not really walled, but simply supplied with what appeared to be a cornice of masonry. On all these walls he even placed double battlements, and he likewise carried out this same improvement

¹ "Fair-flowing."

² Euroea was probably on the site of the modern village of Gardiki, near the city and lake of Ioannina.

³ To the south.

⁴ A northern arm of the Gulf of Corinth.

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γασται, ὅπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἦν παρέργως
 5 οὕτω πεποιημένον τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις. διαρκές
 τε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὕψος ἐντέθεικε καὶ διπλοῦς τοὺς
 6 προμαχῶνας πεποίηται. πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ
 ἀνύδρῳ παντάπασιν ὄντι ταμιεῖον ὑετίων ὑδάτων
 B 270 7 ἐπετεχνήσατο. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἀνόδους πολλὰς
 ἀφυλάκτους τε καὶ ἀτειχίστους τὰ πρότερα οὖσας
 8 ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἐτειχίσατο. θαυμάσειεν ἂν τις
 εἰκότως τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα, ὅτι δὴ χρόνον
 ἐνταῦθα κατατρίψας πολύν, μίαν τινα στενὴν
 ἀτραπὸν εὗρατο, καὶ ταῦτα προδοτῶν Ἑλλήνων
 τυχῶν, ὁδῶν τε ἀτειχίστων ἐκείνῃ πολλῶν καὶ
 9 ἀμαξιτῶν σχεδόν τι οὐσῶν. ἥ τε γὰρ θάλασσα
 τοὺς πρόποδας ἐπικλύζουσα τῶν ὁρῶν, ἀνεστο-
 μωμένης ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐποιεῖτο εἶναι τὰς
 ἐνθένδε ἀνόδους, καὶ σηράγγων τε καὶ χαραδρῶν
 ἀδιεξόδων ἐνταῦθα οὐσῶν, ἀμήχανα ἔδοξεν εἶναι
 τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις τειχίσμασιν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς
 περιβαλέσθαι τὰ διηρημένα τῇ φύσει, τῇ τε πρὸς
 τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν ἔργων ὀκνήσει ἀταλαίπωρον
 ἀφέμενοι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ κατέλιπον,
 ἐς τὴν ἐσομένην βαρβάροις τῆς ὁδοῦ ἄγνοιαν
 10 ἀποθέμενοι τὰς τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας. ἐπεὶ
 πρὸς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν ἀπολέγοντες αἰεὶ ἄνθρωποι,
 τὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς δοσκολώτατα δόξαντα εἶναι
 11 οὐδὲ ἄλλοις τισὶν οἴονται ῥάδια ἔσεσθαι. διὸ δὴ
 οὐκ ἂν τις ἔτι φιλονεικοίῃ μὴ οὐχὶ ἀνθρώπων
 ἀπάντων οἳ δὴ ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα γεγέννηται,
 Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα προμηθέστατον γεγονέναι
 καὶ διαφερόντως ἐπιμελέστατον, ὧ γε οὐδὲ
 θάλασσα χαλεπὴ γέγονε, γειννῶσά τε τοῖς ὄρεσι
 καὶ περιχεομένη καὶ ἐπικλύζουσα, ἐν κλυδωνίῳ

in the fortress which had stood there from an ancient date, carelessly constructed, as it was, by men of former times. For he built it up to an adequate height and made the ramparts double. In addition to this he also devised for the fort, which was entirely without water, a storage-cistern for rain-water. Furthermore, he carefully walled off many paths up the mountains which previously had been both unguarded and un-walled. One might marvel with good reason at the Persian King for spending so much time there and finding only a single narrow path, and that too with the help of Grecian traitors, while in fact there are many un-walled routes there which are practically waggon-roads. The sea, washing the base of the mountains, continually made new ascents from this point; and since glens and impassable ravines abound there, it seemed to the men of ancient times impossible to close up thoroughly with walls the openings which had been made by nature; and because of their reluctance to undertake a difficult task, they carelessly abandoned their safety to chance, basing their hope of salvation on the assumption that the barbarians would be ignorant of the road. For since men always shrink from hard work, they imagine that what has seemed very difficult to them will not be easy for any others. So no man will any longer dispute the assertion that the Emperor Justinian has shewn himself most provident and most exceptionally careful as compared with all other men who have ever lived, seeing that even the sea, though it comes close to the mountains and surrounds them and beats against them, has not proved

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- P 70 τε καὶ ψάμμῳ ὑγρᾷ τοῖς θεμελίοις στηρίζεσθαι,
καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις διαφανῶς ἐναρμόζεσθαι,
ἀνθρώπων τε προσχωρεῖν τέχνη καὶ βιαζομένοις
12 ὑπέικειν. οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ τὰς τε λόχμας καὶ
νάπας ἀλλήλαις ἀνάψας, οὐδὲ τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ
ὄρει ἐναρμοσάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος, ὅλην τε
τὴν Ἑλλάδα περιβαλὼν τοῖς ὀχυρώμασι, κατέπαυσε
B 271 τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηκόων σπουδὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
φρουρία πολλὰ τοῦ τείχους ἐντὸς ἐτεκτῆνατο,
ἄξια τύχης τῆς ἀνθρωπείας βεβουλευμένος, ἣ
βέβαιον¹ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἀκαταγώνιστον γίνεται.
13 ὥστε εἰ τοῖς τείχεσι τούτοις τρόπῳ ὁπωοῦν ἢ
χρόνῳ ἀλῶναι ξυμβαίη, ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις τὰ
14 φυλακτήρια διασώζοιτο. καὶ μὴν καὶ σιτῶνας ἐν
τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ καὶ ὑδάτων ἔλутра πανταχόθι πεποιή-
ται, στρατιώτας τε φρουροὺς ἐς δισχιλίους
μάλιστα τῇδε ἰδρύσατο· ὁ οὐδέ τις τῶν πρώην
βασιλέων πώποτε ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου πεποίηκεν.
15 ἀφύλακτα γὰρ τὸ παράπαν τὰ τείχη ταῦτα
ἄνωθέν τε καὶ ἐς ἐμέ ἦν, ἀγροίκων τε τῶν
ἐπιχωρίων τινὲς τῶν πολεμίων καταθεόντων
μεθαρμοσάμενοι τὴν δίκαιαν ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα,
ἐπὶ καιροῦ τε αὐτοσχεδιάζοντες τὰ πολέμια, ἐκ
περιτροπῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐφρούρουν, ἀλώσιμοί τε τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἀπειρία τοῦ ἔργου ῥᾶστα ξὺν τῇ
Ἑλλάδι ἐγίνοντο, ταύτῃ τε τῇ σμικρολογίᾳ ἣ
χώρα ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀπέκειτο ἐπιούσι βαρβάροις.
16 Οὕτω μὲν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὰ ἐν Θερμο-
πύλαις² ἐρύματα ἐκρατύνατο. καὶ πόλεων δὲ
ἀπασῶν, αἵπερ αὐτῶν ἐκτὸς τῇ χώρᾳ ἐξικανούσιν

¹ βέβαιον A, βέβαιον γὰρ V.

² θερμοπύλαις V, τῇ ἐλλάδι A.

an obstacle sufficient to prevent the foundations from being securely laid in the midst of the surging water and on the wet sand, or to forestall the most striking union of the most opposite elements, which are thus forced to yield to man's skill and to bow to his superior power. Yet this Emperor, even after joining the forests and the glens to each other, and fastening the sea to the mountain, and encircling all Greece with strongholds, did not stop his zeal for his subjects, but he also constructed many forts inside the wall, planning for all the contingencies which sway man's fortune, wherein nothing is fixed or unconquerable, so that if these walls in any manner or at any time chanced to be captured, the garrisons might still be maintained in the fortresses. Furthermore, he placed granaries and reservoirs of water in safe places everywhere and established there about two thousand soldiers as a garrison, a thing which not one of the former Emperors has done in all time.¹ For these walls were entirely unguarded from early times even to my day, and some of the peasants from the neighbourhood, when the enemy came down, would suddenly change their mode of life, and becoming makeshift soldiers for the occasion, would keep guard there in turn; and because of their inexperience in the business they, together with Greece itself, proved an easy prey to the enemy, and on account of this niggardliness the country through its whole extent lay open to the oncoming barbarians.

Thus did the Emperor Justinian secure the defences at Thermopylae. And in all the cities outside the pass, which in that region are sufficiently numerous,

¹ Cf. *Secret History*, xxvi. 31-33 for a very different statement of the case.

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- οὔσαι, ξὺν ἐπιμελείᾳ πολλῇ τείχῃ ὠκοδομήσατο
 ἰσχυρά, ἔν τε Σάκκῳ καὶ Ὑπάτῃ καὶ Κορακίοις
 καὶ Οὐννῶ καὶ Βαλέαις καὶ τῷ καλουμένῳ
 17 Λεονταρίῳ. ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ πεποιήται τάδε.
 ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν ἐς Ἑλλάδα ἰόντι, ὄρη δύο ἐπὶ
 μακρότατον ἀλλήλοιν ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ξυνίασι, στε-
 νωπὸν ἐν βραχεὶ ἀπεργαζόμενα τὴν μεταξὺ
 χώραν (κλεισούρας νενομίκασι τὰ τοιαῦτα καλεῖν).
 B 272 18 πηγὴ δὲ κατὰ μέσον κάτεισιν, ἐν μὲν ὥρᾳ θερινῇ
 πότιμον ἀποβλύζουσα καὶ καθαρὸν ¹ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ
 τῶν ὀρῶν ἃ ταύτῃ ἀνέχει, ἐς ῥυακά τε ἀποκεκρι-
 19 μένη βραχύν. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὕοι,² χειμάρρους ἐν-
 ταῦθα ἐπικυρτοῦται ὑψηλὸς τε ὑπερφύως καὶ
 δεινῶς ἄγριος ἐπὶ πλείστον τῶν ἐκείνῃ σκοπέλων
 20 ἀπὸ τῶν χαραδρῶν συνάγων τὸ ρεῦμα. ἐνθένδε
 τοῖς βαρβάροις εἰσιτητὰ ἐπὶ τε Θερμοπύλας
 οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐγίνετο καὶ τὴν ταύτῃ Ἑλλάδα.
 21 τοῦ δὲ στενωποῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα δύο ἐκ παλαιοῦ
 ὀχυρώματα ἦν, πῇ μὲν Ἡράκλεια πόλις, ἥσπερ
 ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, πῇ δὲ ὁ Μυροπώλης καλού-
 22 μενος, οὐκ ὀλίγῃ διεστηκὼς χώρα. ταῦτα δὲ
 ἄμφω τὰ ὀχυρώματα ἐν ἐρειπίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ
 ὄντα Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνωκοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς καὶ
 διατειχίσματι τὸν στενωπὸν ὀχυρωτάτῳ περι-
 P 71 βαλὼν, τούτῳ τε συνάψας ὅρος ἐκάτερον τοῖς μὲν
 βαρβάροις τὴν δίοδον ἀνεχαίτισε, τῷ δὲ χειμάρρῳ
 ἐπάναγκές ἐστι λιμνάζοντι τοῦ τείχους ἐντός,
 εἶτα ἐφύπερθεν αὐτοῦ φερομένῳ ὅπῃ παρατύχοι
 ἵεναι.

¹ καθαρὸν V, γαληνὸν A.

² ὕοι V, ὕη A.

he very carefully built strong walls, both at Saccus and Hypatê and Coracii and Unnum and Baleae and at Leontarium, as it is called. At Heraclea he did as follows. As one descends from Illyricum into Greece, one is confronted by two mountains which rise very close together for a long distance, forming between them a narrow pass of the sort which they are wont to call *cleisuræ*.¹ A small stream comes down between them, in the summer season flowing with pure drinking-water from the mountains which rise there and forming a tiny brook. Whenever it rains, however, an exceedingly deep and very violent torrent billows down, gathering its volume chiefly from the streams which course down from the mountain peaks thereabout. At that point it was possible for the barbarians with no difficulty to effect an entrance both against Thermopylae and into that part of Greece. But on either side of the pass there had been two fortresses from early times, on the one side the city of Heraclea, which I have just mentioned, and on the other, separated by no small distance, Myropoles, as it is called.² Both these fortresses had lain in ruin from ancient times, so the Emperor Justinian rebuilt them and closed the pass with a very strong cross-wall which he made fast to each of the two mountains, thus blocking the entrance for the barbarians, and the stream when it is in flood is now forced to form a pond inside the wall and then to flow over it and go on wherever it chances.

¹ See above, III. iii. 2, note.

² Possibly the route indicated was by way of the valley of the Sperchius, the upper portion of which might be characterised as a *cleisura*; in its lower reaches, however, near which Heraclea Trachinia is situated, the valley is wide and open.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 23 Καὶ πόλεις δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσας αἵπερ
ἐντὸς εἰσι τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις τειχῶν, ἐν τῷ
βεβαίῳ κατεστήσατο εἶναι, τοὺς περιβόλους ἀνα-
24 νεωσάμενος ἅπαντας. κατερηρίπεσαν ¹ γὰρ
πολλῷ πρότερον, ἐν Κορίνθῳ μὲν σεισμῶν ἐπι-
γενομένων ἐξαισίων, Ἀθήνησι δὲ καὶ Πλαταιᾷσι
κὰν τοῖς ἐπὶ Βοιωτίας χωρίοις χρόνου μὲν ²
μήκει πεπονηκότες, ³ ἐπιμελησαμένου ⁴ δὲ αὐτῶν
25 οὐδενὸς τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων. ἐπίμαχον δὲ ἢ
ἀφύλακτον οὐδὲν εἶασεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προεγρηγορότι
τῶν κατηκόνων ἔννοια γέγονεν ὥς οἱ βάρβαροι
καταθέοντες, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, τά γε ἀμφὶ Θερμο-
πύλας χωρία, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα πύθωνται οὐδὲν
αὐτοῖς ὄφελος ἔσεσθαι ὑπερβεβηκόσι τὸ ἔρυμα
τοῦτο, τειχέρους πανταχόθι γεγεννημένης τῆς
B 273 ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος, ἐθελοκακήσουσιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα
ἐξεπιστάμενοι ὥς πολιορκεῖν σφίσι πόλιν ἐκάστην
26 ἐπάναγκες ἔσται. προσδοκία γὰρ μηχανομένη
ταλαιπωρεῖν οὐκ ἀνέχεται, οὐδὲ ἀναβαλλομένης ⁵
ὠφελείας ἐφίεται, ἀλλ' ἀποδίδεται τῆς περὶ ταῦτα
ὀκνήσεως τὴν μέλλουσαν τύχην.
27 Ταῦτα διαπεπραγμένοι Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς,
ἐπεὶ τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις ἀπάσας ἀτει-
χίστους ἐμάνθανεν εἶναι, λογισάμενος ὅτι δὴ οἱ
πολὺς τετρίψεται χρόνος, εἰ κατὰ μιᾶς ἐπιμελοῖτο,
τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ■ ὅλον ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐτειχίσατο,
28 ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ καταπεπτῶκει τὰ πολλὰ ἤδη. φρούριά
τε ταύτῃ ἐδείματο καὶ φυλακτῆρια κατεστήσατο.
τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ ἄβατα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἅπαντα

¹ κατερηρίπεσαν Haury: καταρereίπεσαν V, κατερείπεσαν A.

² μὲν V, om. A.

³ πεπονηκότες Haury: πεπο|ηκόσι V, πεπονηκότα A.

He also rendered secure all the cities of Greece which are inside the walls at Thermopylae, renewing their circuit-walls in every case. For they had fallen into ruin long before, at Corinth because of terrible earthquakes which had visited the city; and at Athens and Plataea and the towns of Boeotia they had suffered from the long passage of time, while no man in the whole world took thought for them. But he left nothing vulnerable or unguarded, for after vigilantly caring for the safety of his subjects, he felt convinced that even if the barbarians should chance to overrun the country about Thermopylae, they would, as soon as they learned that after surmounting this obstacle they would have gained no advantage (the rest of Greece having been fortified at every point), give up immediately in despair, knowing that it would be necessary for them to besiege each individual city. For when expectation is prolonged, it cannot endure the strain, nor does it even desire a profit which is delayed; but it simply abandons the contingent chance of success through waiting.

When the Emperor Justinian, after he had accomplished all this, learned that all the cities of the Peloponnesus were unwalled, he reasoned that obviously a long time would be consumed if he attended to them one by one, and so he walled the whole Isthmus securely, because much of the old wall had already fallen down. And he built fortresses there and established garrisons. In this manner he

⁴ ἐπιμελησαμένου Maltretus: ἐπιμελησαμένων V.

⁵ ἀναβαλλομένης V, ἀναβαλλομένη A.

⁶ ἰσθμὸν V, πορθμὸν A.

πεποίηκεν εἶναι τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ χωρία· εἰ
καί τι ἐς τὸ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ὀχύρωμα κακουργή-
σοιεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῇδε κεχώρηκε.

γ'. Πόλις δὲ ἦν τις ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας, Διοκλητια-
νούπολις ὄνομα, εὐδαίμων μὲν τὸ παλαιὸν γεγενη-
μένη, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου βαρβάρων οἱ
ἐπιπεσόντων καταλυθεῖσα καὶ οἰκητόρων ἔρημος
γεγονυῖα ἐπὶ μακρότατον· λίμνη δέ τις αὐτῇ ἐν
γειτόνων τυγχάνει οὔσα, ἣ Καστορία ὠνόμασται.
καὶ νῆσος κατὰ μέσον τῆς λίμνης τοῖς ὕδασι
2 περιβέβληται. μία δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν εἴσοδος ἀπὸ τῆς
λίμνης ἐν στενῷ λέλειπται, οὐ πλέον ἢ ¹ ἐς πεντε-
3 καίδεκα διήκουσα πόδας. ὅρος τε τῇ νήσῳ
ἐπανέστηκεν ὑψηλὸν ἄγαν, ἥμισυ μὲν τῇ λίμνῃ
4 καλυπτόμενον, τῷ δὲ λειπομένῳ ἐγκείμενον. διὸ
δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος τὸν Διοκλητιανουπόλεως
ὑπεριδὼν χώρον ἅτε που διαφανῶς εὐέφοδον ὄντα
καὶ πεπονθότα πολλῷ πρότερον, ἅπερ ἐρρήθη,
πόλιν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ὀχυρωτάτην ἐδείματο, καὶ τὸ
P 72 B 274 5 ὄνομα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀφῆκε τῇ πόλει. ἐπὶ μέντοι
'Εχιναίου τε καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Φαρσάλου καὶ ἄλλων
τῶν ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας ² πόλεων ἀπασῶν, ἐν αἷς
Δημητριάς τέ ἐστι καὶ Μητρόπολις ὄνομα καὶ
Γόμφοι καὶ Τρίκα, τοὺς ³ περιβόλους ἀνανεω-
σάμενος, ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐκρατύνατο, χρόνῳ τε
καταπεπονηκότας μακρῷ, εὐπετῶς τε ἄλωτους
ὄντας, εἴ τις προσίοι.

6 'Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐς Θεσσαλίαν ἀφίγμεθα, φέρε
δὴ, τῷ λόγῳ ἐπὶ τε τὸ ὅρος τὸ Πήλιον καὶ

¹ πλέον ἢ Maltretus: πλέον V.

² ἐπὶ θεσσαλίας V: ἐπιθαλασσίαν A.

³ Τρίκα, τοὺς Haury for τρικαττοὺς.

made all the towns in the Peloponnesus inaccessible to the enemy, even if somehow they should force the defences at Thermopylae. Thus were these things done.

iii. There was a certain city in Thessaly, Diocletianopolis by name, which had been prosperous in ancient times, but with the passage of time and the assaults of the barbarians it had been destroyed, and for a very long time it had been destitute of inhabitants; and a certain lake chances to be close by which was named Castoria.¹ There is an island in the middle of the lake, for the most part surrounded by water; but there remains a single narrow approach to this island through the lake, not more than fifteen feet wide. And a very lofty mountain stands above the island, one half being covered by the lake while the remainder rests upon it. Wherefore this Emperor passed over the site of Diocletianopolis, since it was manifestly easy of access and had long been in a state of collapse, as has been stated, and built a very strong city on the island, and, as was right, he allowed it to bear his own name. Furthermore, he restored the circuit-walls of Echinaeus and of Thebes and Pharsalus and of all the other cities of Thessaly, including Demetrias and Metropolis, as it is called, and Gomphi and Tricca,² making them safe and strong, since they had all suffered with the passage of time and could be captured easily, if anyone should attack them.

But now that we have reached Thessaly, let us direct our account at once to Mt. Pelion and the

¹ Cf. A. D. Keramopoulos, "Ὁρεστικὸν Ἄργος—Διοκλητιανούπολις—Καστορία," *Byz.-neogr. Jahrbh.*, ix., 1930-2, pp. 55-63. ² Later Trikala. Mod Trikkala.

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- 7 Πηνειὸν ποταμὸν ἴωμεν. ρεῖ μὲν ἐξ ὄρους τοῦ
 Πηλίου πρῶν τῷ ρεῖθρῳ ὁ Πηνειός, ὠραίῃσται
 δὲ αὐτῷ περιρρεομένη πόλις ἡ Λάρισσα, τῆς
 Φθίας ἐνταῦθα οὐκέτι οὔσης, τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ
 8 μακροῦ χρόνου τὸ διαπόνημα. φέρεται δὲ ὁ
 ποταμὸς οὗτος εὖ μάλα προσηνῶς ἄχρι ἐς θάλασ-
 σαν. εὐφορὸς τε οὖν ἐστὶν ἡ χώρα καρπῶν
 παντοδαπῶν καὶ ποτίμοις ὕδασι κατακορῆς ἄγαν,
 ὥνπερ ὀνίνασθαι ὡς ἥκιστα εἶχον περίφοβοι
 ὄντες οἱ τῇδε ὠκημένοι διηνεκές καὶ κατα-
 δοκοῦντες αἰεὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐγκείσεσθαι¹
 σφίσιν· ἐπεὶ οὐδαμῇ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων ὀχύρωμα
 9 ἦν, ὅπῃ ἂν καταφυγόντες σωθήσονται. ἀλλὰ
 καὶ Λάρισσαν καὶ Καισάρειαν, πεπονηκότων
 σφίσιν ὑπεράγαν τῶν ἐρυμάτων, σχεδὸν τι
 10 ἀτειχίστους εἶναι ξυνέβαινε. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστι-
 νιανὸς ἄμφω τείχῃ ἰσχυρότατα² ποιησάμενος
 11 γνησίᾳ τὴν χώραν εὐδαιμονίᾳ ξυνώκισεν. οὐ
 πολλῷ δὲ ἄποθεν ὄρη ἀνέχει ἀπόκρημνα, οὐρανο-
 μήκεσιν ἀμφιλαφῇ δένδροις· οἰκεῖα³ δὲ Κενταί-
 12 ροις τὰ ὄρη. καὶ γέγονε Λαπίθαις ἐν τῇδε τῇ
 χώρα πρὸς τὸ Κενταύρων γένος ἡ μάχη, ὡς οἱ
 μῦθοι ἡμῖν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰσχυρίζονται, νεανιευό-
 μενοι γεγονέναι ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐν τοῖς ἄνω
 χρόνοις ἀλλόκοτον καὶ ζώων φύσιν τινὰ δυοῖν
 B 275 13 σύμμικτον. ἀφῆκε δέ τι καὶ τῷ μύθῳ ἐν προση-
 γορίᾳ μαρτύριον ὁ παλαιὸς χρόνος, φρουρίου
 ἐν τοῖς τῇδε⁴ ὄρεσιν ὄντος. Κενταυρόπολις

¹ ἐγκείσεσθαι A, ἐγκείσθαι V.

² τείχῃ ἰσχυρότατα V, τειχήρεις A.

³ οἰκεῖα A, οἰκία V.

⁴ τοῖς τῇδε V, τοῖσδε τοῖς A.

Peneus River. This river flows from Mt. Pelion¹ with a gentle stream which encircles and beautifies the city of Larissa; Phthia² is no longer in existence, this being the work of the long passage of time. And this river flows on with a very easy descent all the way to the sea. The country is indeed productive of all kinds of crops and has a surfeit of drinking-water, yet the inhabitants of the region could not derive the least enjoyment from these things because they were in a state of constant terror and ever expected the barbarians to fall upon them, since there was no stronghold anywhere in this district where they might take refuge and find safety. Even Larissa and Caesarea,³ since their defences had suffered excessively, had come to be practically unwallled. But the Emperor Justinian made the defences of both very strong, and in this way brought the blessings of true prosperity to the region. And not far away rise precipitous mountains, covered with lofty trees—the home of the Centaurs. This was the spot where the battle of the Lapiths took place against the race of the Centaurs, as our myths have it from of old, childishly pretending that in early times a strange race of men existed, compounded of the nature of two creatures. Ancient times have also left a certain testimony to the myth in a name applied to a fort in the mountains there; for the place is called Cen-

¹ In fact its principal source arises in northwestern Thessaly; it is a small tributary that rises in Mt. Pelion and passes Larissa.

² The reputed home of Achilles.

³ In western Macedonia, on the river Haliaemon. Cf. A. D. Keramopoulos, "Wo lag die *Καισάρεια* des Procopius?" *Actes du IVe congrès international des études byzantines, Sofia, 1934* (*Bull. de l'Inst. arch. Bulgare*, ix. 1935), pp. 407-413.

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- 14 γὰρ τὸ χωρίον καὶ εἰς ἐμὲ ὀνομάζεται. οὐπερ
τὸ τεῖχος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καταπεπτωκὸς
ἤδη σὺν Εὐρυμένη τῷ φρουρίῳ ἐνταῦθά πη ὄντι
καὶ ταῦτὸ πεπονθότι ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἐκρατύ-
15 νατο. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα φρούρια ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας
ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνενεώσατο, ὥνπερ τὰ ὀνόματα
σὺν τοῖς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τετειχισμένοις ἐν κατα-
λόγῳ γεγράφεται μοι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον.
- 16 Ἄλλὰ νῦν, ἵνα μηδὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπολειφ-
θείη μένον ἄρρητον, ἐς Εὐβοίαν ἡμῖν τὴν νῆσον
ἰτέον, ἐπεὶ Ἀθηνῶν τε καὶ Μαραθῶνος ἄγχιστα
17 ἔστηκεν. Εὐβοία τοίνυν ἡ νῆσος ἦδε προβέβλη-
ται μὲν τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς θάλασσαν, δοκεῖ δέ
που ἀπενεχθῆναι, μιᾶς μὲν οὔσης τῆς γῆς πρό-
18 τερον, ἀποσχισθείσης δὲ πορθμῷ ὕστερον· ῥήγνυσι
γάρ τις τὴν ἡπειρον ἐνταῦθα τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρ-
ροῇ ἀμφὶ Χαλκίδα πόλιν, ἐν στενῷ τε ξυνιοῦσα
καὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἐκατέρωθι σφιγγομένη ἐς ῥύακος
19 εὖρος. καὶ νῆσος μὲν τὸ ἀποτετμημένον τῆς
γῆς γέγονεν· Εὐριπος δὲ ὁ πορθμὸς ἐπωνό-
P 73 20 μασται. τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν τις ἡ Εὐβοία τυγχάνει
οὔσα· ζευγμα δὲ τῷ πορθμῷ μία τις ἐγκειμένη
ποιεῖται δοκός· ἥνπερ ἐπιτιθέντες μὲν, ἥνικα
ἂν ἡ βουλομένοις σφίσιν, οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἡπειρῶται¹
δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ εἰς γῆν τὴν ἀντιπέρας πεζοὶ
ἴασιν, ἀφαιρούμενοι δὲ ταῖς τε ἀκάτοις διαπορθ-
μούνται τὸν ἀνάπλου καὶ νησιῶται γίνονται
αὐθις, ἐνός τε ξύλου ἐπιβολῇ καὶ ἀφαιρέσει καὶ
πεζεύουσι καὶ ναυτίλλονται² . . . ἐντὸς καθειργ-
21 μένην καλοῦσι Παλλήνην. τὴν μέντοι εἴσοδον

¹ ἡπειρῶται . . . ναυτίλλονται A, om. V.

² Lacuna indicated by Stewart and Haury.

tauropolis even to my day. The wall of this fort, which had already fallen down, as well as the fortress of Eurymenê, near by, which was in the same state, was rebuilt and strengthened by the Emperor Justinian. This Emperor restored also many other forts in Thessaly, the names of which I shall include a little further on in the list of towns in Macedonia which have been provided with walls.

But now, in order that no portion of Greece may be left unmentioned, we must go to the island of Euboea, for it stands close to Athens and Marathôn. This island of Euboea is thrown out into the sea in front of Greece, and it looks as if it had been cut off somehow from the mainland, having been one with the continent formerly, but later split off by a strait. An arm of the sea breaks the continent there near the city of Chalcis, collecting itself in a narrow stream and being compressed by its banks to the breadth of a brook. The portion of land which is thus cut off forms an island, and the strait is called Euripus. Such then is Euboea; and a bridge over the strait is formed by a single timber laid across it. This the natives put in place whenever they wish, and thus they seem to be mainlanders when they cross on foot to the opposite shore; but when they remove it and cross the strait in boats, they become islanders again, so that by the placing or removal of one timber they may either walk or go in boats¹ . . . they call the enclosed portion Pallenê.

¹ A lacuna of considerable extent must be assumed here. The author must have told of Justinian's fortifications at Chalcis and elsewhere in Euboea before passing to Macedonia, where he has mentioned Chalcidicê, on the westernmost of whose three peninsulas was Pallenê. The cross-wall, which

B 276

- διατειχίσματι τὸ παλαιὸν καταλαβόντες οἱ ἐπι-
 χῳριοι, ταύτῃ τε τὴν ἐκατέρωθι συζεύξαντες
 θάλασσαν, πόλιν ἐνταῦθα ἐδείμαντο, ἣν πάλαι
 μὲν Ποτίδαιαν, τανῦν δὲ Κασανδρίαν ὀνομά-
 22 ζουσιν. οὕτω δὲ τὰς ἐνταῦθα οἰκοδομίας ὁ
 χρόνος διέφθειρε πάσας ὥστε δὴ Οὐννικὸν τι
 ἔθνος οὐ πολλῶ πρότερον καταθέοντες τὰ ἐκείνῃ
 χωρία, ὥσπερ τι διαχειρίζοντες οἶόν τι πάρεργον,
 τό τε ξύναμμα¹ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄφοβοι
 ἐξεῖλον, καίπερ ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι οὐ
 23 τειχομαχήσαντες πώποτε. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Ἰου-
 στινιανῶ βασιλεῖ γέγονε πρόφασις ἀρετὴν τε
 24 καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνην ἐνδείξασθαι. τοῖς γὰρ ξυμ-
 πίπτουσι χαλεποῖς ἀντίξουν ποιούμενος αἰεὶ τὴν
 αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν, τῶν ξυμβεβηκότων τὰ πονηρό-
 τατα ταῖς ἐπιγινομέναις ἀγαθοεργίαις εὐθὺς μετα-
 25 βιβάζεται ἐς τύχην ἀμείνω. καὶ Παλλήνης
 ἀμέλει πόλιν τε τὴν προβεβλημένην τῆς χώρας
 ἀπάσης καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον διατείχισμα
 τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐθέλουσιν ἄμαχόν τε καὶ
 26 ἀνανταγώνιστον διεπράξατο διαφανῶς εἶναι. ταῦτα
 μὲν οὖν ἐν πράξεσιν αὐτῷ ταῖς ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν
 διαπεπόνηται.
 27 Ῥεῖ δέ τις ποταμὸς Θεσσαλονίκης οὐ πολλῶ
 ἄποθεν, Ῥήχιος ὄνομα· ὃς δὴ χώραν ἀγαθὴν
 τε καὶ γεώδη περιερχόμενος τὰς ἐκβολὰς εἰς
 28 θάλασσαν τὴν ἐκείνῃ ποιεῖται. προσηγὴς δὲ
 ὁ ποταμὸς ἐστί, γαληνὸν τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πότιμον,
 ἡ γῆ χθαμαλή, ἀρόματα πολλά, ἔλος εὖνομον.
 29 καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν εὐδαιμονίας ἡ χώρα εὖ ἔχει,

¹ ξύναμμα Maltretus: ξύμβαμα.

The natives in ancient times had closed the entrance with a cross-wall, with which they had linked together the two seas; and they had built there a city which in former times they called Potidaea, but now Cassandria. But time so ruined all the buildings in this place that a Hunnic tribe, in overrunning that region not long ago, destroyed the city and the wall without fear, quite as if they were doing something just by the way, though since the world began they had never stormed a wall. But this too provided the Emperor Justinian with an opportunity to display his skill and his magnanimity. For, by always bringing his wisdom to bear in circumventing the difficulties he meets with, he straightway uses beneficent measures, thus transforming the greatest disasters into a happier state of affairs. So in this way he brought it about that both the city of Pallenê, which stands as a bulwark of the whole region, and the cross-wall at the entrance of the peninsula, became manifestly impregnable and able to defy any who should wish to attack them. These things, then, were done by him as his service to Macedonia.

Not far from Thessalonica flows a certain river, Rhechius by name,¹ which wanders through a goodly land of deep soil and then empties into the sea near by. The river flows with a steady current, the water is calm and drinkable, and the ground is level with many ploughed fields and bottom-lands with good pasturage. In these respects the land is blessed, but

made the lower part of this peninsula "the enclosed portion," seems to have been built across the narrow neck of this peninsula, thus "connecting" the Thermaic Gulf with the gulf east of Pallenê.

¹ The Axios, modern Vardar?

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βαρβάροις δὲ λίαν εὐέφοδος οὕσα ἐτύγχανεν, οὔτε
 30 φρούριον ἐν σημείοις τεσσαράκοντα οὔτε ἄλλο
 B 277 τι ἔρυμα ἔχουσα. διὸ δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς παρά τε
 τὰς τοῦ Ῥηχίου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολὰς καὶ τὴν τῆς
 θαλάσσης ἡϊόνα φρούριον ὠκοδομήσατο ἐχυρώτα-
 τον, καινουργήσας αὐτός, ὅπερ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐπω-
 νόμασαι.

P 74 δ'. Ὅσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὀχυρώματα ἐν τῇδε
 τῇ τῆς Εὐρώπης πεποιῆται μοίρα εἰπεῖν ἄξιον.
 καὶ εἰ μὲν παρ' ἄλλοις ἀνθρώπων τισὶ μακράν
 τε ὠκημένοις καὶ πολιτείαν ἑτέραν ἔχουσι τὸν
 κατάλογον ἐποιούμεθα τῶν τῇδε φρουρίων ἅπερ
 Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται, ἵνα δὴ ἔμελλεν
 ὁ λόγος ἀμάρτυρος εἶναι, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι μυθολόγος τε
 2 ἂν τῶν ἔργων τῷ ἀριθμῷ ἔδοξεν εἶναι καὶ ἄπιστος
 ὅλως. νῦν δὲ (ἥ τε γὰρ ὄψις¹ οὐ μακράν που
 τυγχάνει οὕσα καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἄγαν οἱ ἐκείθεν
 ἐπιχωριάζοντες ἡμῖν ἀνθρωποι) φέρε δὴ νεανιευ-
 σάμενοι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐχέγγυνον οὖσαν, ἀπαριθ-
 μησώμεθα μηδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει τὰ ὀχυρώματα, ὅσα
 δὴ ἀμφὶ τὰς χώρας τὰς μοι ἑναγχος δεδηλωμένας
 πεποιῆται Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, ἥ τὰ πεπονηκότα
 ἐρυμάτων ἀνανεούμενος, ἥ νέα τεῖχῃ ἐπιτεχνώ-
 3 μενος. οὐδὲν δὲ χεῖρον ὥς ἐν καταλόγῳ ἐπελθεῖν
 ἅπαντα, ὥς μὴ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐπιμιξία ὄχλος τις
 ἐπιγένηται τῷ λόγῳ πολὺς.

¹ γὰρ ὄψις Haury, πάροιψις.

¹ With the list which follows, especially the headings, cf. ch. viii of this Book, where Procopius, recapitulating his enumeration of the fortifications up to that point, speaks of Dardania, Epirus, and Macedonia as belonging to Illyricum;

it used to be completely exposed to the barbarians, having neither fortress nor any other defence in a space of forty miles. Consequently the Emperor built a new fort of great strength beside the mouth of the Rhechius River, near the shore of the sea, and it has been named Artemisium.

iv. It is proper to tell also how many other strongholds he constructed in this part of Europe. If we were making this catalogue of the forts in this region—those namely which were constructed by the Emperor Justinian—for the benefit of some other nations of men who lived far away, with a different form of government, in some place where the record would lack the testimony of witnesses, I know well that my account would seem fabulous and altogether incredible because of the mere number of the forts built. But as matters stand, since these things are to be seen at no great distance, and visitors from these regions are very numerous in our midst, let us, boldly telling the truth, well vouched for as it is, proceed with unbounded confidence to enumerate without any hesitation all the forts which the Emperor Justinian has built throughout the regions which I have just described, either by restoring those fortifications which were in ruins or by contriving new walls. It will be preferable to set them all down together in catalogue form so that my narrative may not become utterly irksome by interspersing a crowd of place-names here and there in it.¹

he has treated of those in Moesia also as far as the Danube. It would seem as if Illyricum extended in his time as far east as the Danube, as far north as the River Savê, and as far west as the Julian Alps.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Φρούρια μὲν οὖν νέα
πρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν
Ἡπείρῳ νέα ¹ γεγένηται
τάδε·

Now the following
new forts were built by
the Emperor in New
Epirus : ²

Βουλπιανσός.	Boulpiansus
Ἐπίστερβα.	Episterba
Σκημινίτης.	Sceminites
Ἄονα.	Aona
Στεφανιακόν.	Stephaniacum
Ἄργος.	Argus
Ἀλίουλα.	Aliula
Δυρράχιν.	Dyrrachin
Ὁ ἅγιος Σαβιανός.	St. Sabianus
Γέμενος.	Gemenus
Βακουστή.	Bacustê
Ἀλιστρος.	Alistrus
Πάταπα.	Patapa
Ἐπιδοῦντα.	Epidunta
Βάκουστα.	Bacusta
Μάρτις.	Martis
Εἰρήνη.	Eirenê
Σπερέτιον.	Speretium
Ἀοιών.	Aoiôn
Στρέδην.	Stredên
Γυναικομίτης.	Gynaecomites

¹ νέα added by Hoeschel.

² Nova Epirus or Illyris Graeca extended from the Drilô (Mod. Drina) River on the north to the Ceraunian Mts. on the south, thus comprising a large part of modern Albania. Immediately to the south of it to the Ambracian Gulf (Mod. Gulf of Arta) lay what is here called Old Epirus, approximately identical with the Epirus of modern Greece.

BUILDINGS IV. iv.

Λάβελλος.	Labellus
Ἐπίλεον.	Epileum
Πισκιναί.	Piscinae
Δεύφρακος.	Deuphracus
Δολέβιν.	Dolebin
Ἡδονία.	Hedonia
Τιτιάνα.	Titiana
Κιθινάς.	Cithinas
Οὐλίβουλα.	Ulibula
Βρεβατή.	Brebatê
Θησαυρός.	Thesaurus

The following were restored :

Ἀνενεώθη δὲ τάδε·	
Τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου.	St. Stephen's
Κεθρέων.	Cethreôn
Ἄπις.	Apis
P 75 Πήλεον.	Peleum
Κώμη.	Comê
Πακούε.	Pacuê
Σκυδρέων πόλις.	The city of Scydreôn
Ἀντίπαγραι.	Antipagrae
Τίθυρα.	Tithyra
Βρέβητα.	Brebeta
Βούπος.	Bupus
Ἐνδύνεια.	Endyneia
Διόνυσος.	Dionysus
Τοῦ Πτωχείου.	Ptocheiou
Τυρκανός.	Tyrcanus
Κάπαζα.	Capaza
Πούψαλος.	Pupsalus
Γάβραιον.	Gabraeum

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Διόνοια.

Κλημεντιανά.

Ἰλλύριν.

Κιλικαί.

Ἀργυάς.

Θέρμα.

Ἀμάντεια.

Παρέτιον.

Dionoia

Clementiana

Illyrin

Cilicae

Argyas

Therma

Amanteia

Paretium

Ἐν δὲ Ἡπείρῳ πα-
λαιᾷ, νέα μὲν φρούρια
ἐγένοντο τάδε·

And in Old Epirus the
following new forts
were built:

Παρμός.

Ὀλβος.

Κιόνιν.

■ 279 Μαρκιανά.

Ἀλγος.

Κεΐμενος.

Ξηροπόταμος.¹

Εὐρώπη.

Χίμαιραι.

Ἡλέγα.

Ὁμόνοια.

Ἀδανον.

Parmus

Olbus

Cionin

Marciana

Algus

Ceimenus

Xeropotamus

Europê

Chimaerae

Helega

Homonoia

Adanum

Ἀνενεώθη δὲ τάδε·

And the following forts
were restored:

Μουρκίαρα.

Κάστινα.

Γενύσιος.

Murciara

Castina

Genysius

¹ Ξηροπόταμος Haury for ξηροπο^{τιμ}

BUILDINGS IV. iv.

Πέρκος.	Percus
Μαρμάρατα.	Marmarata
Λίστρια.	Listria
Πετρωιανά.	Petroniana
Κάρμινα.	Carmina
Τοῦ ἁγίου Σαβίνου.	St. Sabinus'
Καὶ ἐν φρουρίῳ Κώμη κινστάρνα. ¹	And a cistern in the fort of Comê
Μάρτιος.	Martius
Πέζιον.	Pezium
*Οναλος.	Onalus
Καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰουστινιανο- πόλεως καὶ Φωτι- κῆς· φρούρια δύο τοῦ ἁγίου Δονάτου.	And from Justiniano- polis ² and Photicê, two forts of St. Donatus
Συμφύγιον.	Symphygium
Προνάθιδον.	Pronathidum
*Ἡδωνες.	Hedones
Κάστελλος.	Castellus
Βουλιβάς.	Bulibas
Πάλυρος.	Palyrus
Τράνα.	Trana
Ποσειδών.	Poseidôn
Κολοφωνία.	Colophonia
Ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας·	In Macedonia:
Κάνδιδα.	Candida
Κολοβῶνα.	Colobona

¹ In Byzantine writers commonly spelt *κινστέρνα*. Cisterns are also often referred to by the name of the maker.

² Formerly called Adrianopolis (modern Adrianople or Edirne); mentioned above, IV. i. 36.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Βασιλικὰ Ἀμύντου.	Basilica Amyntou ¹
Μελίχιζα.	Melichiza
Πασκάς.	Pascas
Αὐλών.	Aulon
Βολβός.	Bolbus
Βριγίζης.	Brigizes
Ὀπτᾶς.	Optas
Πλευρόν.	Pleurum
Κάμινος.	Caminus
Θέρμα.	Therma ²
Βογᾶς.	Bogas
Νεάπολις.	Neapolis ³
Κάλαρνος.	Calarnas
Μουσεῖον.	Museum
Ἀκρέμβα.	Acremba
Ἀδριάνιον.	Adrianium
Ἔδανα.	Edana
Σίκλαι.	Siclae
Νύμφιον.	Nymphium
Μέτιζος.	Metizus
Ἀργικιανόν.	Argicianum
Βάζινος.	Bazinus
Κασσωπάς.	Cassopas
Παρθίων.	Parthiôn
Γεντιανόν.	Gentianum

¹ Procopius has moved northeastward into the land of the Dardani and of Moesia Superior (southern Jugoslavia of to-day), though he seems to consider this region as still in Epirus and Epirus still in Illyricum.

² The ancient name of the settlement at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, transformed by Cassander into an important seaport and named Thessalonice.

³ On the Strymonic Gulf, modern Kavalla

BUILDINGS IV. iv.

P 76	Πρινιάνα.	Priniana
	Θήστεον.	Thesteum
	Κύρρου.	Cyrrou
	Γουρασσών.	Gourassôn
	Κουμαρκίανα.	Cumarciana
	Λιμνηδήριον.	Limnederium
	Βουρβοώδην.	Bourboöden
	Βάβας.	Babas
	Κρυνίανα.	Cryniana
	Πέλεκον.	Pelecum
	Λάγης.	Lagês
	Κραταιά.	Crataea
	Φασκίαι.	Phasciae
	Πλακιδιανά.	Placidiana
	Ὑγέα.	Hygea
	Λιμνααί.	Limnaae
	Ὀπτιον.	Optium
	Χάραδρος.	Charadrus
	Κάσσωπες.	Cassopes

Ἀνενεώθη καὶ ἐπὶ And these forts were
Θεσσαλίας φρούρια τάδε restored in Thessaly :

Ἀλκῶν.	Alcôn
Λόσσονος.	Lossonus
Γεροντική.	Geronticê
Πέρβυλα.	Perbyla
Κερκινέου.	Cercineou
Σκιδρεοῦς.	Scidreûs
Φράκελλαν.	Phracellan

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Ἐπὶ Δαρδανίας δὲ πε-
ποιήται τάδε. νέα μὲν

In Dardania the following
were built. New:

Λαβέριον.

Laberium

Κάστιμον.

Castimum

Ῥαβεστόν.

Rhabestum

Καστέλλιον.

Castellium

Ἀκρένζα.

Acrenza

Τεριάς.

Terias

Δροῦλλος.

Drullus

Βικτωρίας.

Victorias

Ἀνενεώθη δὲ τάδε·

And the following were
restored:

Κεσίανα.

Cesiana

Τεζούλη.

Tezulê

■ 281 Οὔσιανά.

Usiana

Βεσίανα.

Besiana

Μασκάς.

Mascas

Λίστη.

Listê

Κελλιριανά.

Celliriana

Ζυσβάες.

Zysbaes

Γένζα.

Genzana

Πετρίζην.

Petrizên

Εὐτυχιανά.

Eutychiana

Μουλατώ.

Mulatô

Βελάς.

Belas

Κάτταρος.

Cattarus

Κατταρηκός.

Cattarecus

Πέντζα.

Pentza

Κατταφέτερος.¹

Cattapheterus

¹ κάτταφ' ἕτερος V: Haury conjectured Κάτταρος ἕτερος.

BUILDINGS IV. iv.

Δάβανος.	Dabanus
Κούβινος.	Cubinus
Γέρματζα.	Germatza
Βικτωριανά.	Victoriana
Ἀζετα.	Azeta
Δουρβουλιανά.	Durbuliana
Σούρικον.	Suricum
Κούσινες.	Cusines
Τουττιανά.	Tuttiana
Βαλλεσιανά.	Ballesiana
Βήλλα.	Bella
Κατρέλατες.	Catrelates
Κασύελλα.	Casyella
Μανίανα.	Maniana
Πρισκούπερα.	Priscupera
Μιλετής.	Miletês
Δαρδάπαρα.	Dardapara
Κέσουνα.	Cesuna
Βερινιανά.	Beriniana
Λάσβαρος	Lasbarus
Καστελλοβρέταρα.	Castellobretara
Ἐδετζιώ.	Edetziô
Δίνιον.	Dinium
Κέκωλα.	Cecola
Ἐμαστος.	Emastus
Καστελῶνα.	Castelona
Καπόμαλβα.	Capomalba
Σέρετος.	Seretus
Πτωχείον.	Ptocheium
Κουινώ.	Cuinô
Βέρζανα.	Berzana
Βεσαϊάνα.	Besaïana

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

	Ἄρσα.	Arsa
	Βλεζώ.	Blezô
	Λάβουτζα.	Labutza
	Κύντου.	Quintou
	Βερμέζιον.	Bermezium
	Κατράσεμα.	Catrasema
	Ῥοτοῦν.	Rhotun
	Κοβέγκιλες.	Cobenciles
P 77	Μαρκελλιανὰ.	Marcelliana
	Πριμονιανὰ.	Primoniana
B 282	Παμίλινος.	Pamilinus
	Ἀρία.	Aria
	Ὑπὸ πόλιν Σαρδικήν.	Near the city Sardicê :
	Σκούπιον.	Scupium
	Στένες.	Stenes
	Μαρκίπετρα.	Marcipetra
	Βρίπαρον.	Briparum
	Ῥωμανιανὰ.	Romaniana
	Στρούας.	Struas
	Πρωτίανα.	Protiana
	Μακκουνιανὰ.	Maccuniana
	Σκοπέντζανα.	Scopentzana
	Ἐν δὲ τῇ Καβετζῶ χώρᾳ, νέον μὲν Βαλβαί ἀνεκνέωθ' ἡ δὲ τάδε.	And in the district of Cabetzus, Balbae was built new, and the following were restored :
	Βυρσία.	Byrsia
	Σταμαζώ.	Stamazô
	Κλεσβέστιτα.	Clesbestita
	Δουϊάνα.	Duiana

BUILDINGS IV. iv.

Τούρικλα.	Turicla
Μέδεκα.	Medeca
Πεπλαβίος.	Peplabius
Κοῦναι.	Cunae
Βίνεος.	Binetūs
Τρισκίανα.	Trisciana
Παρνοῦστα.	Parnusta
Τζίμες.	Tzimes
Βιδζώ.	Bidzô
Στενεκόρτα.	Stenecorta
Δανεδέβαι.	Danedebae
Ἀρδεία.	Ardeia

. . . νέα μὲν

Βουγάραμα.
Βέτζας.
Βρεγεδάβα.
Βόρβρεγα.
Τουρούς.

Ἀνενεώθη δέ

Σαλεβρίες.
Ἀρκούνες.
Δουρίες.
Βουτερίες.
Βαρβαρίες.
Ἀρβατίας.
Κουτζούσουρα.
Ἐταιρίες.
Ἰταβερίες.
Βόττες.

. . . the following new :

Bugarama
Betzas
Bregedaba
Borbrega
Turûs

And the following were restored :

Salebries
Arcunes
Duries
Buteries
Barbaries
Arbatias
Cutzusura
Etaeries
Itaberies
Bottes

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

	Βιτζιμαίας.	Bitzimaemas
	Βαδζιάνια.	Badziania
B 283	Βάνες.	Banes
	Βιμηρός.	Bimerus
	Τουσουδεάας.	Tusudeaas
	Σκουάνες.	Scuanes
	Σκεντουδίες.	Scentudies
	Σκάρες.	Scares
	Τουγουρίας.	Tugurias
	Βεμάστες.	Bemastes
	Στραμεντίας.	Stramentias
	Λίγνιος.	Lignius
	Ίταδεβά.	Itadeba

Ὑπὸ πόλιν Γέρμεννε,
νέον μὲν Σκαπλιζώ
ἀνεκτίθη δέ

Near the city Germanne,
Scaplizo was built new,
and the following were
restored :

Γερμάς.	Germas
Κανδαράς.	Candaras
Ῥολλιγεράς.	Rolligeras
Σκινζερίες.	Scinzeries
Ῥιγινοκάστελλον.	Rhiginocastellum
Σουεγωγμένσε	Suegogmense

Ὑπὸ πόλιν Παυτά

Near the city Pauta :

Τάρπωρον.	Tarporum
Σουάβαστας.	Suabastas
Χερδούσκερα.	Cherduscera
Βλέβοις.	Blebois
Ζεαπουρίες.	Zeapuries

BUILDINGS IV. iv.

Ἐν χώρᾳ Σκασσετάνα

In the district of
Scassetana :

Ἄλαρον.

Alarum

Μαγιμιάς.

Magimias

Λουκουνάντα.

Lucunanta

Βάλαυσον.

Balausum

Βούττις.

Buttis

P 78 Ὑπὸ πόλιν δὲ . . . νέα
μὲν.

Near the city . . . the
following were built new :

Καλβεντία.

Calbentia

Φαράνορες.

Pharanores

Στρανβάστα.

Stranbasta

Ἄλδανες.

Aldanes

Βαραχτέστες.

Barachtestes

Σάρματες.

Sarmates

Ἄρσενα.

Arsena

Βράρκεδον.

Brarcedum

Ἐραρία.

Eraria

Βερκάδιον.

Bercadium

Σαβινίριβες.

Sabiniribes

Τιμίανα.

Timiana

Κάνδιλαρ.

Candilar

Ἄρσαζα.

Arsaza

Βικούλεα.

Biculea

B 284 Καστέλλιον.

Castellium

Γρόφφες.

Groffes

Γάρκες.

Garces

Πίστες.

Pistes

Δούσμανες.

Dusmanes

Βράτζιστα.

Bratzista

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Ὁλόδορις.	Holodoris
Κασσία.	Cassia
Γράνδετον.	Grandetum
Οὐρβρίανα.	Urbriana
Νώγετο.	Nogeto
Γούρβικον.	Gurbicum
Λαύτζονες.	Lautzones
ΔουλίARES.	Duliares
Μεδίανα.	Mediana
Τιούγκωνα.	Tiuncona
Καστέλλιον.	Castellium
Ἀνενεώθη δέ	And the following were restored :
Ἑρκουλα.	Hercula
Μουτζιανικάστελλον.	Mutzianicastellum
Βούρδωπες.	Burdopes
Κάλις.	Calis
Μιλλάρεκα.	Millareca
Δέδβερα.	Dedbera
Χεσδούπαρα.	Chesdupara
Ἐν χώρα Ῥεμισια- νισία	In the district of Remisianisia :
Βρίττουρα.	Brittura
Σούβαρας.	Subaras
Λαμπωνίανα.	Lamponiana
Στρόγγες.	Stronges
Δάλματας.	Dalmatas
Πριμίανα.	Primiana
Φρερραρία.	Phrerraria
Τόπερα.	Topera

BUILDINGS IV. iv.

Τόμες.	Tomes
Κούας.	Cuas
Τζερτζενούτζας.	Tzertzenutzas
Στένες.	Stenes
Αιάδαβα.	Aeadaba
Δέστρεβα.	Destreba
Πρετζουρίες.	Pretzouries
Κουμούδεβα.	Cumudeba
Δευριάς.	Deurias
Λούτζολο.	Lutzolo
Ῥεπόρδενες.	Rhepordences
Σπέλογκα.	Spelonca
Σκουμβρο.	Scumbro
Βρίπαρο.	Briparo
Τουλκόβουργο.	Tulcoburgo
Λογγιάνα.	Longiana
Λουποφαντάνα. ¹	Lupophantana
Δαρδάπαρα.	Dardapara
Βουρδόμινα.	Burdomina
Γριγκιάπανα.	Grinciapana
Γραῖκος.	Graecus
Δρασίμαρκα.	Drasimarca

Ἐν χώρα Ἀκνενισίω,
νέον μὲν Τιμαθοχιώμ.
τὰ δὲ ἀνανεωθέντα·

In the district of Aque-
nisium, Timathochiôm
was built new, and the
following were restored:

Πέτρες.	Petres
Σκουλκόβουργο.	Sculcoburgo
Βινδιμίολα.	Vindimiola

¹ That is, Lupi Fontana.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

	Βραίολα. ¹	Braeola
	Ἀργανόκιλι.	Arganocili
	Καστελλόνοβο.	Castellonovo
	Φλωρεντίανα.	Florentiana
	Ῥωμυλίανα.	Romyliana
	Σεπτέκασαι. ²	Septecasae
	Ἀργένταρες.	Argentares
	Αὐριλίανα.	Auriliana
	Γέμβερο.	Gembero
	Κλέμαδες.	Clemades
	Τουρρίβας.	Turribas
	Γρίβο	Gribo
	Χάλαρο.	Chalaro
P 79	Τζούτρατο.	Tzutrato
	Μουτζίπαρα.	Mutzipara
	Στένδας.	Stendas
	Σκαρίπαρα.	Scaripara

286 2 ε'. Οὕτω μὲν σύμπασαν τὴν μεσόγειον Ἰουστι-
 νιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἐτειχίσατο. τρόπον
 δὲ ὄντινα καὶ τὴν ἡϊόνα ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου, ὃν
 καὶ Δανούβιον³ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐρύμασί τε καὶ
 φυλακτηρίοις στρατιωτῶν ἐκρατύνατο, ἐγὼ δηλώ-
 σω. οἱ Ῥωμαίων τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτοκράτορες
 τοῖς ἐπέκεινα ὤκημένοις βαρβάροις τὴν τοῦ
 Δανουβίου διάβασιν ἀναστέλλοντες ὀχυρώμασί τε
 κατέλαβον τούτου δὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἀκτὴν
 ξύμπασαν, οὐ δὴ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ μόνον,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνιαχῇ ἐπὶ θάτερα πολίσματά
 3 τε καὶ φρούρια τῇδε δειμάμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ
 ὀχυρώματα ἐξειργάσαντο οὐκ ἀμήχανα προσελθεῖν,

¹ Probably the same as the Braeola of page 265, line 11.

Ὀδρίουζο.	Odriuzo
Κιπίπενε.	Cipipene
Τρασίανα.	Trasiana
Πότες.	Potes
Ἀμουλο.	Amulo
Σέτλοτες.	Setlotes
Τιμακίολον.	Timaciolum
Μερίδιο.	Meridio
Μεριοπόντεδε.	Meriopontede
Τρεδετετιλίους.	Tredetetilius
Βραίολα.	Braeola
Μώτρεςες.	Motreses
Βικάνοβο.	Vicanovo
Κουαρτίανα.	Quartiana
Ἰουλιόβαλλαι.	Julioballae
Πόντζας	Pontzas
Ζάνες.	Zanes

v. Thus did the Emperor Justinian fortify the whole interior of Illyricum. I shall also explain in what manner he fortified the bank of the Ister River, which they also call the Danube, by means of strongholds and garrisons of troops. The Roman Emperors of former times, by way of preventing the crossing of the Danube by the barbarians who live on the other side, occupied the entire bank of this river with strongholds, and not the right bank of the stream alone, for in some parts of it they built towns and fortresses on its other bank. However, they did not so build these strongholds that they were impossible to attack, if anyone should come against them, but

² Σεπτέκασαι (i.e., Septem Casae) Haurý : Σεπτέκασας.

³ Δαουόβιον Haurý : δάνουβιν.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- εἴ τις προσίοι, ἀλλ' ὅσον δὴ μὴ ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον
τὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἡίονα λελεῖφθαι· ἐπεὶ τειχο-
μαχεῖν τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωστο.
4 τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἐρυμάτων αὐτοῖς ἀμέλει ἀπεκέκριτο
ἐς πύργον ἓνα, μονοπύργιά τε, ὡς τὸ εἶκός,
ἐπεκαλεῖτο, ἀνθρωποὶ τε ὀλίγοι κομιδῇ ἐν αὐτοῖς
5 ἴδρυντο. καὶ τοῦτο τηνικάδε ἀπέχρη τὰ τῶν
βαρβάρων δεδίσσεσθαι γένη, ὥστε δὴ ἀναδύ-
6 εσθαι τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἐπίθεσιν. χρόνῳ δὲ
ὑστερον Ἀττίλας στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσβεβληκώς,
τά τε ὀχυρώματα πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλε,
καὶ γῆν Ῥωμαίων ὑπαντιάζοντός οἱ οὐδενὸς
7 ἐληΐσατο τὴν πολλήν. ἀλλ' Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς
ἀνωκοδομήσατό τε τὰ καθηρημένα, οὐχ ἥπερ τὰ
πρότερα ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐς τοῦ ὀχυρώματος τὸ καρτερώ-
τατον μάλιστα, καὶ πλεῖστα ἔτι ἐπετεχνήσατο
8 καινουργήσας αὐτός. ταύτῃ τε παντάπασιν ἀν-
εσώσατο ¹ ἀπολωλυῖαν ἤδη τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῇ
Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. ἅπερ ἅπαντα ὄντινα γεγένηται
τρόπον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.
9 Κάτεισι μὲν ἐξ ὁρέων ² τῶν ἐν Κελτοῖς ποταμὸς
Ἰστρος, οἱ τανῦν Γάλλοι ἐπικαλοῦνται· χώραν
δὲ περιβάλλει πολλήν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
παντελῶς ἔρημον, ἐνιαχῇ δὲ βαρβάρους οἰκήτορας
ἔχουσιν, θηριώδη τέ τινα δίαιταν ἔχοντας καὶ
B 287 10 ἀνεπίμικτον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις. Δακίας δὲ
P 80 ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ γενόμενος, ἐνταῦθα διορίζων φαίνεται
πρῶτον τοὺς τε βαρβάρους, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἐπ'
ἀριστερᾷ ἔχουσι, τὴν τε Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἐν δεξιᾷ
11 οὔσαν. διὸ δὴ Ῥιπησίαν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι τὴν

¹ ἀνεσώσατο V, ἀνεγέωσατο A.

they only provided that the bank of the river was not left destitute of men, since the barbarians there had no knowledge of storming walls. In fact the majority of these strongholds consisted only of a single tower, and they were called appropriately "lone towers," and very few men were stationed in them. At that time this alone was quite sufficient to frighten off the barbarian clans, so that they would not undertake to attack the Romans. But at a later time ¹ Attila invaded with a great army, and with no difficulty razed the fortresses; then, with no one standing against him, he plundered the greater part of the Roman Empire. But the Emperor Justinian rebuilt the defences which had been torn down, not simply as they had been before, but so as to give the fortifications the greatest possible strength; and he added many more which he built himself. In this way he completely restored the safety of the Roman Empire, which by then had been lost. And I shall explain how all this was accomplished.

The River Ister flows down from the mountains in the country of the Celts, who are now called Gauls; and it passes through a great extent of country which for the most part is altogether barren, though in some places it is inhabited by barbarians who live a kind of brutish life and have no dealings with other men. When it gets close to Dacia, for the first time it clearly forms the boundary between the barbarians, who hold its left bank, and the territory of the Romans, which is on the right. Consequently the Romans apply the term *Ripesia* to this part of

¹ A.D. 441.

² ὀρέων Maltretus: ὀρίων.

- ταύτη Δακίαν· ῥῖπα γὰρ ἡ ὄχθη τῇ Λατίνων
 12 καλεῖται φωνῇ. πόλιν οὖν παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνη
 ἀκτὴν, ὄνομα Σιγγηδόνον, ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις
 13 ἐδείμαντο πρώτην. ταύτην δὲ βάρβαροι προϊόν-
 τος τοῦ χρόνου ἐλόντες ἔς τε τὸ ἔδαφος κατελόν-
 14 σαντο. τρόπῳ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
 15 ὀχυρωμάτων κατεστήσαντο τὰ πλείστα. βασιλεὺς
 δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνανεωσάμενος ξύμπασαν καὶ
 τειχίσματι ὀχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν, πόλιν περιφανῇ
 τε καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν πεποίηκεν αὐτῆς.
 16 φρουρίον τε ἄλλο διαφερόντως ἐχυρὸν ἀνέστησε
 νέον, πόλεως Σιγγηδόνου¹ ὁκτὼ μάλιστα σημείοις
 διέχον, ὅπερ Ὀκταβον λόγῳ τῷ εἰκότι καλοῦσιν.
 17 ἐπίπροσθεν δὲ αὐτοῦ πόλις ἦν ἀρχαία τὸ Βιμινά-
 κιον, ἣνπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς (ἐκ θεμελίων γὰρ ἀπωλώλει
 τῶν ἐσχάτων πολλῷ πρότερον) ἀνοικοδομησάμενος
 ξύμπασαν ἀπέδειξε νέαν.

- ς'. Ἐκ δὲ Βιμινακίου προϊόντι ὀχυρώματα
 τρία πρὸς τῇ τοῦ Ἰστρου ἡϊόνι ξυμβαίνει εἶναι,
 2 Πιγκούς τε καὶ Κούπους καὶ Νοβάς. οἷς² δὴ
 πρότερον ἢ τε οἰκοδομία μία³ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐπὶ
 πύργου ἑνὸς ἔκειτο. ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἰουστινιανὸς
 βασιλεὺς τὰ τε οἰκία καὶ τὰ ἐρύματα ἔς τε πλη-
 θος καὶ μέγεθος ἐν τούτοις δὴ τοῖς χωρίοις
 ἀνενεγκὼν μέγα, πόλεων αὐτοῖς ἀξιώματα οὐκ
 3 ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰκότος ἐντέθεικε. Νοβῶν δὲ καταν-
 τικρὺ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ πύργος ἐκ παλαιοῦ
 ἀπημελημένος ἐστήκει, ὄνομα Λιτερατά· ὅνπερ
 4 οἱ πάλοι ἄνθρωποι Λεδέρατα ἐκάλουν. ὃν δὴ

¹ πόλεως Σιγγηδόνου Haury: πόλεως σιγγηδονίου V, ταύτης
 τῆς πόλεως A.

Dacia, for *ripa* signifies bank in the Latin tongue. Accordingly they had made a beginning by building on the bank there in ancient times a city, by name Singidunum.¹ This the barbarians captured in time, and they immediately razed it, leaving the place quite destitute of inhabitants. They did precisely the same thing to most of the other strongholds. But the Emperor Justinian restored the entire city and surrounded it with a very strong fortification, and thus made it once more a famous and important city. And he set up another new fortress of exceptional strength about eight miles distant from Singidunum, which they call by the appropriate name of Octavus. Beyond it was the ancient city of Viminacium,² which the Emperor rebuilt entire and made new, for it had long before been ruined down to its uttermost foundations.

vi. As one goes on from Viminacium there chance to be three strongholds on the bank of the Ister, Pinci and Cupi and Novae. These were formerly both single in construction and when named were single towers³. But now the Emperor Justinian has greatly increased the number of the houses and enlarged the defences at these places, and thereby has properly given them the rank of cities. And opposite Novae in the mainland on the other side of the river, had stood from ancient times a neglected tower, by name Literata; the men of former times used to call this Lederata.

¹ Modern Belgrade.

² Modern Kostolatz.

³ See above, Chap. v. 4.

² καὶ Νοβὰς. οἷς Haury, καὶ Νοβαί. οἷς Maltretus: καινοβασαῖς.

³ μία added by Capps.

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- 5 ἐς φρούριον μέγα τε καὶ διαφερόντως ἐχυρώτατον
 ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς μετεστήσατο. μετὰ Νοβάς
 δὲ φρούρια Κανταβαζά τε καὶ Σμόρνης τε καὶ
 Κάμψης καὶ Τανάτα καὶ Ζέρνης καὶ Δουκεπράτου.
 ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ φρούρια
 6 ἐκ θεμελίων¹ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐδείματο. μετὰ δὲ
 Καπούτβοες ὠνόμασται, τοῦ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκρά-
 τορος Τραϊανοῦ ἔργον, καὶ πολίχνιον ἐφεξῆς
 7 παλαιόν, Ζάνες ὄνομα. οἷσπερ ἅπασιν ἐρύματα
 περιβαλὼν ἐχυρώτατα προβόλους εἶναι τῆς πολι-
 8 τείας ἀνανταγωνίστους πεποιήται. τούτου δὲ τοῦ
 Ζάνες οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν φρούριον μὲν ἐστί,
 Πόντες ὄνομα· ὁ δὲ ποταμὸς ἐκροήν τινα ἐνταῦθα
 ἐκβάλλων, ταύτῃ τε περιπολῶν ὀλίγην τινα τῆς
 ἀκτῆς μοῖραν, ἐπιστρέφει αὖθις ἐς ῥοῦν τὸν
 9 οἰκεῖον καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἀναμίγνυται. ποιεῖ δὲ
 ταῦτα οὐκ αὐτόματος, ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπινοίαις
 10 ἀναγκασθεῖς. ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἔνεκα Πόντες τε ὁ
 χῶρος ἐκλήθη καὶ ἀναγκαστὸν περιάγουσιν αὐτόσε
 τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω.
 11 Ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ Τραϊανός, θυμοειδής
 τε ὢν καὶ δραστήριος, ὥσπερ ἀγανακτοῦντι ἐώκει,
 ὅτι δὴ οὐκ ἀπέραντος αὐτῷ ἡ βασιλεία εἶη, ἀλλὰ
 12 ποταμῷ Ἰστρῷ ὀρίζεται. ζευξαὶ οὖν αὐτὸν²
 γεφύρα διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσχεν, ὡς διάβατός τε αὐτῷ
 καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἐμπόδιος εἶη ἐς τοὺς ἐπέκεινα
 13 βαρβάρους ἰόντι. ὅπως μὲν οὖν τὴν γέφυραν
 ἐπήξατο ταύτην, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐν σπουδῇ
 γένοιτο, Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνός, ὁ καὶ
 παντὸς γεγονὼς ἀρχιτέκτων τοῦ ἔργου, φραζέτω.

¹ καὶ ταῦτα after θεμελίων deleted by Haury.

This the present Emperor transformed into a great fortress of exceptional strength. After Novae are the forts of Cantabaza, Smornês, Campsês, Tanata, Zernês, and Ducepratum. And on the opposite side he built a number of other forts from their lowest foundations. Farther on is the so-called Caput Bovis,¹ the work of the Roman Emperor Trajan, and beyond this an ancient town named Zanes. And he placed very strong defences around all these and so made them impregnable bulwarks of the State. And not far from this Zanes there is a fort, Pontes by name. The river throws out a sort of branch there, and after thus passing around a certain small portion of the bank, it turns again to its own stream and is reunited with itself. It does this, not of its own accord, but compelled by human devices. The reason why the place was called Pontes, and why they made this forced diversion of the Ister at this point, I shall now make clear.

The Roman Emperor Trajan, being of an impetuous and active temperament, seemed to be filled with resentment that his realm was not unlimited, but was bounded by the Ister River. So he was eager to span it with a bridge that he might be able to cross it and that there might be no obstacle to his going against the barbarians beyond it. How he built this bridge I shall not be at pains to relate, but shall let Apollodorus of Damascus, who was the master-builder of the whole work, describe the

¹ "Ox-head."

² αὐτὸν A, om. V.

- 14 οὐ μέντοι τις τὸ λοιπὸν γέγονεν ὄνησις ἐνθένδε
 'Ρωμαίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ὃ τε Ἰστρος
 ἐπιχυθεὶς ὕστερον καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἐπιρρεύσας
 15 καθεῖλον. πεποιήται δὲ Τραϊανὸς τότε καὶ
 φρούρια δύο τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐφ' ἐκάτερα, καὶ
 B 289 αὐτοῖν Θεοδώραν μὲν ἐπωνόμασαν τὸ ἐν τῇ
 ἀντιπερας ἡπείρῳ, Πόντες δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ Δακίας
 16 ὁμωνύμως τῷ ἔργῳ ἐκλήθη. πόντην γὰρ τὴν
 γέφυραν 'Ρωμαῖοι τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι φωνῇ.
 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐνταῦθα γινομέναις ναυσὶν ἅπλους τὸ
 λοιπὸν ὁ ποταμὸς ἦν, τῶν τῆς γεφύρας αὐτόθι
 ἐρειπίων τε καὶ θεμελίων¹ κειμένων, τούτου δὴ
 ἔνεκα τὸν ποταμὸν ἀναγκάζουσι μεταπορεύεσθαι
 τὸν αὐτοῦ δρόμον καὶ τὴν πορείαν ἀνακυκλεῖν
 αὐθις, ὅπως ἂν πλώϊμον καὶ τὸ ἐνθένδε αὐτὸν
 17 ἔχοιεν. ἄμφω μὲν οὖν καταπεπονηκότα τὰ
 φρούρια ταῦτα διὰ τε χρόνου μῆκος καὶ οὐχ
 ἥκιστα ἐπισκηψάντων ἐνταῦθα βαρβάρων² δι-
 18 εφθάρθαι ξυνέβη. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Πόν-
 την μὲν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ, νέα τε
 καὶ ἀμάχῳ ἐπικεικῶς ἀνανεωσάμενος οἰκοδομία,
 τὴν ἀσφάλειαν Ἰλλυριοῖς ἀνέσώσατο· τοῦ δὲ
 αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα ὄντος, ὅπερ Θεοδώραν καλοῦσιν,
 ἅτε ἀποκειμένου τοῖς ἐκείνῃ βαρβάροις, προσήκειν
 οἱ³ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ᾤετο· τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐστῶτα
 μετὰ τὴν Πόντην ὀχυρώματα ὠκοδομήσατο και-
 νουργήσας αὐτός,⁴ ἅπερ καλεῖται Μαρεβούργου τε

¹ ἐνταῦθα after θεμελίων deleted by Maltretus.

² οὐχ . . . βαρβάρων V, βαρβάρων ἐπίθεσιν A, καὶ βαρβάρων ἐπίθεσιν corrector of V in margin.

³ οἱ Maltretus: ἡ V.

operation.¹ However, the Romans derived no profit from it subsequently, because later on the bridge was completely destroyed by the floods of the Ister and by the passage of time. At the same time Trajan built two forts, one on either side of the river; the one on the opposite bank they named Theodora, while the one in Dacia was called Pontes from the work—for the Romans call a bridge *pontem* in the Latin tongue.² But when boats reached that point, the river was no longer navigable, since the ruins and the foundations of the bridge lay in the way; and it is for this reason that they compel the river to change its course and to go about in a detour, so that they may keep it navigable even beyond that point. Both these forts had suffered so much from the passage of time, and more still from the assaults of the barbarians, that they had come to be utterly destroyed. And the Emperor Justinian restored Pontes, which is on the right of the river, providing it with new and thoroughly impregnable defences, and thus re-established the safety of Illyricum. However, the fort on the other side of the river, the one which they call Theodora, he considered in no way worthy of his attention, exposed as it was to the barbarians there. But the strongholds which now stand beyond Pontes he himself built new; these are named

¹ The reference is to a treatise of Apollodorus which is no longer extant. This Apollodorus was active in Rome for a time, having among his other undertakings done the Forum of Trajan and Trajan's column.

² It bore the name Pons Traiani.

⁴ After αὐτός A has ἄλλα τε πλείστα, ἅπερ ἀμήχανον λόγω διεξελθεῖν, "and very many others, which it is impossible to enumerate."

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

καὶ Σουσίανα, Ἀρμάτα τε καὶ Τιμένα, καὶ
Θεοδωρούπολιν τε καὶ Στιλιβούργου καὶ Ἀλικανι-
βούργου.

- 19 Ἦν δέ τι πολίχνιον ἐγγὺς κείμενον, Ἀκνὲς
ὄνομα, οὐπὲρ ὀλίγα ἄττα σαθρὰ γεγονότα ὁ
20 βασιλεὺς ἐπηνώρθωσε. καὶ μετ' ἐκείνο Βουργο-
νόβορε καὶ Λακκόβουργο, καὶ τὸ Δορτικὸν
ἐπικαλούμενον φρούριον, ὅπερ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλον
γεγεννημένον ἐς ὀχύρωμα νῦν ἐχυρώτατον κατ-
21 εστήσατο. καὶ πύργον ἓνα, Ἰουδαῖος καλούμενον,
φρούριον διεσκευάσατο κεκαλλιστευμένον καλεῖσθαι
22 τε¹ καὶ εἶναι. καὶ τὸ δὴ Βουργουάλτου²
B 290 ὠνομασμένον, ἔρημόν τε καὶ παντάπασιν ἀοίκητον
τὰ πρότερα ὄν,³ ἀλλὰ καὶ χώρον ἕτερον περιβόλῳ
23 ἐτειχίσατο νέῳ ὥνπερ ἐπικαλοῦσι Γόμβες. καὶ
τὸ Κρίσπας ἔρυμα καταπεπονηκὸς τῷ μήκει τοῦ
χρόνου, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Λογγινιάνα καὶ Ποντεσέ-
24 ριον⁴ ἐδείματο, ἔργον διαφερόντως ἐξαΐσιον. ἐν
δὲ Βονωνία τε καὶ Νοβῶ⁵ προμαχεῶνας διερρυν-
κότας ἀνεκένευσεν. καὶ Ῥατιαρίας πόλεως ὅσα
25 καταπεπτῶκει ὀρθὰ ἐστήσατο. καὶ πολλὰ δὲ
ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ χρεῖα ξυνοῖσον ἢ βραχεὰ κομιδῇ
P 82 ὄντα ἐπὶ μέγα ἐξῆρεν, ἢ συνέστειλε τὸ περιττὸν
ἀφελόμενος, ὅπως δὴ μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἢ τῷ
ὑπεράγαν βραχεῖ ἢ τῷ ἀμέτρῳ εὐέφοδα εἶη·
ὥσπερ ἀμέλει Μωκατίανα μὲν πύργον ἓνα κατὰ
μόνας τὰ πρότερα ὄντα φρούριον τανῦν τελεώ-
26 τερον κατεστήσατο. τὸ δέ γε Ἀλμοῦ, χώραν

¹ τε added by Maltretus.

² δὴ Βουργουάλτου Maltretus for διβουργουάλτου.

³ A lacuna after ὄν noted by Capps, who suggests, e.g., οὐκ
ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐποίησεν.

Mareburgou and Susiana, Harmata and Timena, and Theodoropolis, Stiliburgou and Halicaniburgou.

There was a certain small town near by, Acues by name, which had partly fallen into decay; this the Emperor put in order. Beyond that lay Burgonobore and Laccoburgo, and the fortress called Dorticum, utterly effaced by time, which he made into a fort now very strong. And he remodelled a stronghold called Judaeus, which had consisted of a single tower, and made it a splendid fortress in name and in fact. [Nor did he neglect] the fort named Burgualtu, which previously was desolate and wholly without inhabitants, but also surrounded with a new circuit-wall another place which they call Gombes. Also he rebuilt the defences of Crispas, which had suffered with the passage of time, likewise Longiniana and Ponteserium,¹ an exceptionally fine piece of work. In Bononia and Novus he restored the parapets which had crumbled. And all the parts of the city Ratiara² which had collapsed he re-erected. He improved many other places in accordance with their particular needs, either making very small places large, or curtailing their size where it was excessive, so that they might not be easy for an enemy to attack either because of excessive smallness or because of too great size; thus, for example, Mocatiana, which previously was a single tower standing alone, he converted into the more complete fortress which it now is. On the other hand, the fortress of Almou, which used

¹ Cf. modern Pontresina.

² Modern Arzar Palanka in Bulgaria.

⁴ Ποντεσέριον Maltretus for πόντες έριον.

⁵ Νοβῶ Haury: νοβῶ V.

- περιβεβλημένον πολλήν, ἐς ὀλίγον ξυναγαγὼν
 σὺν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἄμαχον εἶναι τοῖς πολεμίοις
 27 εἰργάσατο. καὶ πολλαχῇ δὲ πύργον ἓνα κατὰ
 μόνας ἐστῶτα εὐρῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εὐκατα-
 φρόνητον τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ὄντα, φρούριον ἐχυρώτατον
 28 κατεστήσατο. ὃ δὴ περί τε Τρίκεσαν καὶ
 Πούτεδιν πεποίηκε. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὀχυρώματα
 τοῦ ἐν Κεβρῷ τὰ καταπεπονηκότα θαυμασίως ὥς
 ἐπηνώρθωσε· φρούριόν τε οὐ πρότερον ὃν ἐν
 Βιγранаῇ δεδημιούργηκε, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἄγχιστα
 ἕτερον ἐν χωρίῳ, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ πύργος εἰς τὰ πρότερα
 29 ὦν εἰστήκει μόνος, ὄνομα Ὀνος. ἐλέλειπτο δὲ
 μόνῃ πόλεως ἐδάφη οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν. Αὐγοῦστες
 30 ὠνομάζετο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἢ πόλις. νῦν δὲ
 τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὄνομα ἔχουσα, νέα δὲ καὶ ἀκραιφ-
 νῆς ὅλη πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως γεγεννημένη,
 31 ὁμιλεῖ¹ οἰκητόρων ἐπιεικῶς πλήθει. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ
 πεπονθότα τοῦ ἐν Ἀεδάβῃ ἐρύματος ἐπηνώρθωσε,
 B 291 καὶ Βαριάνα πόλιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ κειμένην ἀνέστησεν.
 ἔτι μέντοι καὶ Βαλεριάναν, ἔρυμα πρότερον οὐδὲν
 ἔχουσαν, ἐτειχίσατο.
 32 Πρὸς ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἡρώρων οὐ παρὰ τοῦ
 ποταμοῦ κειμένων τὴν ὄχθην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ
 ἄποθεν ὄντων ἐπεμελήσατο, πεσουμένων ἐκ τοῦ
 ἐπὶ πλείστον, τειχίσμασί τε αὐτὰ περιβέβληκεν
 33 ἀμάχοις τισί. Κάστρα Μάρτις² τε καὶ Ζητνου-
 κόρτου καὶ Ἰσκὸς τὰ χωρία ἐπικαλεῖται ταῦτα.
 παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ὄχθην φρούριον παλαιόν,
 Ὀυννων³ ὄνομα, ἐπιμελείας ἡξίωσε τά τε ἄλλα καὶ
 34 ἀμφὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ πολλῆς. ἔστι δέ τις χώρος

¹ ὁμιλεῖ Capps: ὁμίλω.

² Καστράμαρτις Maltretus: καὶ στραμάρτις

to cover a large area, he brought into small compass and thus made it safe and able to defy the assaults of the enemy. In many places, finding a single tower standing by itself and therefore an easy prey for assailants, he converted it into a very strong fortress; this he did, for example, with Tricesa and Putedis. Furthermore, he restored in a marvellous way the damaged defences at Cebrus. At Bigranaê he constructed a fortress which had not existed before, and very close to it a second one, Onus by name, where a single tower had previously stood. And not far away there were the bare foundations of a city which in early times used to bear the name of Augustes. But now, still bearing its ancient name, though all made over new by the Emperor Justinian and quite complete, it knows ¹ a rather numerous population. Also he restored the damaged portion of the defences of Aëdabê, and put in order the city of Variana which had long lain in ruins. In addition, he built a wall around Valeriana, which previously had no defences.

Furthermore, he gave his attention to towns which do not lie upon the bank of the river but stand at a great distance from it—towns which were about to fall in ruins for the most part—and he encircled them with walls which are practically impregnable. These places are named Castra Martis and Zetnucortou and Iscus. And an ancient fort named Hunnôn, on the bank of the river, he treated as worthy of attention in all respects and particularly in the matter of its circuit-wall. There is a certain place not far re-

¹ A use of *ὁμιλεῖν* very common in Procopius; cf. Haury's *Index Graecitatis* and Herwerden's *Lexicon Suppletorium*.

² *Οὐννων* Maltretus: *οὐννον* V.

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- οὐ πολλῶ ἄποθεν τούτου δὴ τοῦ Οὐννων φρουρίου,
 ἔνθα δὴ ὀχυρώματα δύο Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ ἐφ'
 ἑκάτερα ἦν, ἐν μὲν Ἰλλυριοῖς Παλατίολον ὄνομα,
 35 ἐπὶ θάτερα δὲ Συκίβιδα. ταῦτα καθηρημένα τῷ
 χρόνῳ ἀνανεωσάμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν
 ταύτῃ βαρβάρων τὰς ἐπιδρομὰς ἀνεχαίτισεν,
 ἐπέκεινά τε φρούριον ὠκοδομήσατο, παλαιὸν
 36 ἔρυμα, ὅπερ Οὕτως¹ ὠνόμασται. ἐν ὑστάτῳ δὲ
 τῶν Ἰλλυρικῶν ὀρίων φρούριον ἀνωκοδομήσατο,
 Λαπιδαρίας ὄνομα, καὶ πύργον ἓνα ἐστῶτα μόνον,
 Λουκερναριαβούργου² καλούμενον, ἐς φρούριον
 37 ἀξιοθέατον μετεστήσατο. ταῦτα μὲν Ἰουστι-
 νιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς διαπέπρακται. οὐ
 μόναις δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις τὴν χώραν ἐτειχίσατο
 ταύτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιωτῶν φρουρὰς ἐν τοῖς
 ὀχυρώμασι πᾶσιν ἀξιολογωτάτας καταστησάμενος
 τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιβουλὰς ἀπεκρούσατο.
- P 83 ζ'. Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἰλλυριῶν ὀχυρώματα παρὰ
 ποταμὸν Ἰστρον ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. ἐπὶ Θράκης δὲ
 νῦν ἱτέον ἡμῖν τὰ ἐρύματα, ὅσα δὴ παρὰ τὴν
 2 ἐκείνῃ ἀκτὴν Ἰουστινιανῶ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται. οὐ
 B 292 γάρ μοι ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι, ἅπασαν πρότερον
 περιηγησαμένῳ τὴν ταύτῃ ἡϊόνα οὕτω δὴ ἐπελ-
 θεῖν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν μεσόγαίαν αὐτῷ πεπραγ-
 3 μένα. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Μυσσοὺς ἐνθένδε ἴωμεν,
 οὗσπερ ἀγχεμάχους οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν· ἐπεὶ
 4 καὶ χώραν τὴν Ἰλλυριοῖς ὁμορον ἔχουσι. μετὰ
 τὸν χώρον οὖν ὅνπερ Λουκερναριαβούργον καλοῦσι,
 Σεκούρισκα τὸ φρούριον ὠκοδομήσατο Ἰουστι-
 5 νιανὸς βασιλεὺς, καινουργήσας αὐτός. ἐπέκεινά

¹ Οὕτως Haury (Uto in *Itin. Ant.* 221): οὕτως V

moved from this fort of Hunnôn where there are two fortresses, one on either side of the Ister River, the one in Illyricum named Palatiolum, and the one on the other side, Sycibida. These, which had been ruined by time, the Emperor Justinian restored and thereby checked the incursions of the barbarians of that region; and beyond them he built a fort at an ancient stronghold which was named Utôs. And at the extremity of the Illyrian territory he built a fort named Lapidarias, and he transformed into a notable fortress a single tower which had stood alone, called Lucernariaburgou. These then were the works executed by the Emperor Justinian in Illyricum. Yet it was not with buildings alone that he fortified this land, but he also established very considerable garrisons of troops in all the strongholds and thereby warded off the assaults of the barbarians.

vii. Such, then, are the strongholds of Illyricum along the Ister River. But we must now go on to the fortified towns of Thrace, those namely which were built by the Emperor Justinian along the river-bank there. For it has seemed to me not improper, after first describing the coast of that region, then to take up also the record of what he did in the interior. First, then, let us proceed to Mysia,¹ the home of men whom the poets call hand-to-hand fighters,² for their country borders upon Illyricum. So beyond that place which they call Lucernariaburgou the Emperor Justinian built the fortress Securisca, a new work of his own. Beyond this he

¹ That is, Moesia, which is here confused with Mysia in Asia Minor; cf. Dio Cassius, XLIX. 36.

² Homer, *Iliad*, XIII. 5.

² So Maltretus: λουκερναρία βουργοῦ V.

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τε τὰ πεπονηκότα ἐν Κυντοδήμου ἀνενεώσατο.
 καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πόλιν ἐδείματο οὐ πρότερον
 οὔσαν, ἣνπερ ὁμωνύμως τῇ βασιλίδι Θεοδωρό-
 6 πολιν ἐπωνόμασεν. ἔτι μέντοι φρουρίων τοῦ τε
 Ἰατρῶν καλουμένου καὶ Τιγᾶς τὰ πεπονθότα νέα
 τινὶ διεσώσατο οἰκοδομία, καὶ τοῖς Μαξεντίου¹
 πύργον ἐντέθεικεν, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῦ προσδεῖν ᾔετο.
 7 καὶ τὸ Κυντῶν² ἐδείματο φρούριον οὐ πρότερον
 ὄν. μεθ' ὃ δὴ τὸ Τρασμαρίσκας³ ὀχύρωμά
 ἔστιν· οὐπερ καταντικρὺ ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἡπείρῳ
 Κωνσταντίνος ποτε Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς φρούριον
 οὐκ ἀπημελημένως ᾤκοδομήσατο, Δάφνην ὄνομα,
 οὐκ ἀξύμφορον· νενομικῶς εἶναι φυλάσσεσθαι
 8 ταύτῃ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐκατέρωθεν. ὃ δὴ προ-
 ἱόντος τοῦ χρόνου βάρβαροι μὲν ἀφανίζουσι τὸ
 παράπαν, Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ ἀνωκοδομήσατο βασιλεὺς
 9 ἐκ θεμελίων ἀρξάμενος. μετὰ δὲ Τρασμαρίσκαν
 ἔρυμά τε τὸ Ἀλτηνῶν, καὶ ὅπερ καλοῦσι Καν-
 διδιάνα, καθηρημένον πρὸς αὐτῶν πολεμίων πολλῶ
 πρότερον, ἐπιμελείας ἡξίωσε κατὰ λόγον τῆς
 10 χρείας. ἔστι δὲ τρία ἐξῆς ὀχυρώματα παρὰ τὴν
 τοῦ Ἰστρου ἡϊόνα, Σαλτουπύργος τε καὶ Δο-
 11 ρόστολος καὶ Συκιδάβα. ὧν δὴ ἐκάστου τὰ
 πεπονθότα⁴ οὐκ ἀπημελημένως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπ-
 B 293 12 ηνώρθωσε. καὶ Κούηστρις δέ, ὅπερ κεῖται τῆς
 ἀκτῆς ἔκτοσθεν, ἐπιμέλειαν τὴν ὁμοίαν πεποιήται.
 καὶ Πάλματις ἐν στενῷ κείμενον μεῖζόν τε
 κατεστήσατο καὶ διαφερόντως εὐρύτερον, καίπερ
 13 οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀκτὴν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄν. οὐδ' ἡ
 ἄγχιστα καὶ φρούριον Ἀδινα καινουργήσας ἐδεί-
 ματο, ἐπεὶ διηνεκὲς διαλανθάνοντες Σκλαβηνοὶ

¹ So Maltretus: Μαξεντίου V.

restored the parts of Cyntodemus which had suffered. And still further on he built a city which had not existed previously, and this he named Theodoropolis, after the Empress. Furthermore, he preserved the fortresses called Iatrôn and Tigas by building anew the parts which had suffered, and to the fort of Maxentius he added a tower, which he thought it needed. And he built the fort of Cyntôn which had not existed before. Beyond this is the stronghold Trasmariscas. Just opposite this, on the other bank of the river, Constantine, Emperor of the Romans, once built with no small care a fort, Daphnê by name, thinking it not inexpedient that the river should be guarded on both sides at this point. As time went on, the barbarians destroyed this entirely; but the Emperor Justinian rebuilt it, beginning at the foundations. And beyond Trasmariscas is the stronghold Altenôn and one which they call Candidiana, destroyed long before by the same enemy, which he repaired with all the care that they deserved. And there are three forts, Saltupyrigus, Dorostolus and Sycidaba, one after the other along the bank of the Ister, which the Emperor put in order by carefully repairing such parts of each one as had suffered. He displayed a similar care in the case of Questris, which lies back from the river. And Palmatis, which was cramped for space, he enlarged and made very much broader, though it is not on the bank of the river. Close to this he built also a new fort named Adina, because the barbarian Sclaveni were constantly laying con-

² Κυντῶν Haury : Κυντόν.

³ So Haury : τρασμακάριας V, τρισμακάριας A.

⁴ πεπονθότα V : πεπονηκότα A.

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βάρβαροι ἐνταῦθα ἐνεδρεύοντές τε κεκρυμμένως
 αἰεὶ τοὺς τῇδε ἰόντας ἄβατα ἐποιοῦν τὰ ἐκείνῃ
 14 χωρία. καὶ φρούριον δὲ τὸ Τιλικίων ὠκοδομή-
 σατο, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κείμενον ἔρυμα.

15 Οὕτω μὲν καὶ Μυσοῖς τὰ ὀχυρώματα ἐπὶ τε τῆς
 ἀκτῆς ποταμοῦ Ἰστρου ἔσχε καὶ ταύτης πλησίον.

16 ἐπὶ Σκύθας δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν βαδιοῦμαι· ἔνθα δὲ
 φρούριον πρῶτον Κυρίλλου ἀγίου ἐπώνυμόν ἐστιν,
 οὐπὲρ τὰ πεπονηκότα τῷ χρόνῳ ἀνωκοδομήσατο

P 84 17 οὐκ ἀπημελημένως Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς. ἐπ-
 ἐκείνᾳ τε αὐτοῦ ἦν μὲν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὀχύρωμα,
 Οὐλμιτῶν ὄνομα, βαρβάρων δὲ Σκλαβηνῶν ἐπὶ
 χρόνου μῆκος ἐκείνῃ τὰς ἐνέδρας πεποιηκότων,
 διατριβὴν τε αὐτόθι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐσχηκότων,
 ἔρημόν τε παντάπασι γέγονε, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ὅτι

18 μὴ τὸ ὄνομα ἐλέλειπτο ἔτι. ὅλον τοίνυν ἐκ
 θεμελίων δειμάρμενος, ἐλεύθερα τῆς¹ τῶν Σκλα-
 βηνῶν ἐπιθέσεώς τε καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς κατεστήσατο

19 εἶναι τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. ἔστι δέ που μετὰ τοῦτο
 Ἰβιδὰ πόλις, ἧς δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου πολλὰ ἐπεπόνθει,
 ἅπερ ἀνανεωσάμενος οὐδεμιᾷ μελλήσει ἐχυρωτάτην

20 διεπράξατο εἶναι. φρούριόν τε δεδημιούργηκε
 νέον αὐτὸς μετ' αὐτὴν ὅπερ Αἰγισσον ὀνομάζουσι.²
 καὶ ἄλλο δὲ φρούριον Σκυθίας ἐν ὑστάτῳ κεῖται,

"Αλμυρις ὄνομα, οὗ δὲ τὰ πολλὰ σαθρὰ γεγονότα
 21 διαφανῶς ἀνοικοδομησάμενος διεσώσατο. ὅσα δὲ
 καὶ ἄλλα ὀχυρώματα ἐν τῇ τῆς Εὐρώπης μοίρᾳ
 εἰπεῖν ἄξιον.

B 294 ἡ'. Ὅσα μὲν δὲ ἔν τε Δαρδάνοις καὶ Ἡπειρώ-
 ταις καὶ Μακεδόσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰλλυριῶν

¹ τῆς V, τε A.

² ὀνομάζουσι V, ὀνομάζεται A.

cealed ambuscades there against travellers,¹ thus making the whole district impassable. He likewise built the fortress of Tiliciôn² and a stronghold which lies to its left.

Such was the condition of the fortresses of Mysia³ on the bank of the Ister River, as well as of those near it. Next I shall proceed to Scythia; there the first fortress is the one named for St. Cyril, of which the Emperor Justinian rebuilt with care those portions which had suffered with time. Beyond this from ancient times there was a stronghold, Ulmitôn by name, but since the barbarian Sclaveni had been making their ambuscades there for a great length of time and had been tarrying there very long, it had come to be wholly deserted and nothing of it was left except the name. So he built it all up from the foundations and thus freed that region from the menace and the attacks of the Sclaveni. Beyond this is the city of Ibida, whose circuit-wall had suffered in many places; these he renewed without delay and made the city very strong. And beyond it he built a new fortress, a work of his own, which they call Aegissus.⁴ At the extremity of Scythia lies another fortress, Halmyris by name, a great part of which had become manifestly insecure, and this he saved by rebuilding it. All the other strongholds also within the bounds of Europe are worthy of mention.

viii. All the building that was done by the Emperor Justinian in Dardania, Epirus, Macedonia and the

¹ Cf. *Wars*, VI. xxvi. 18, 19.

² Teglicio in *Itin. Ant.* 223.

³ Moesia.

⁴ Aegissus (Aegyso in *Itin. Ant.* 226) is placed by cartographers at the head of the Danube's delta, Halmyris (Salmorudê or Salmoridê in *Itin. Ant.* 226) near its right mouth.

- ἔθνεσιν, ἔτι μέντοι καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ τε τῆς Ἑλλάδος, καὶ ἀμφὶ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον οἰκοδομήματα Ἰουστινιανῶ βασιλεῖ εὔργασται, ἤδη μοι ἔμπροσθεν
 2 δεδιήγηται. ἐπὶ τὴν Θράκην δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἴωμεν, ἀρίστην πηγνύμενοί τινα τοῦ λόγου κρηπίδα τὰ ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου χωρία, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῆς Θράκης ἡ πόλις οὐ τῷ κράτει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χωρίων προέστηκε φύσει, τῇ μὲν Εὐρώπῃ ὥσπερ τις ἀκρόπολις ἐπεμβαίνουσα, φραττομένη δὲ τῆς διοριζούσης αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας θαλάσσης τὸ
 3 πέρας. ἤδη μὲν οὖν τὰς τε ἄλλας ἀπάσας τῆς πόλεως κτίσεις, καὶ ὅσα δὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐντός τε καὶ ἐκτὸς τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως περιβόλου δεδημιούργηκεν, ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν δεδήλωκα λόγοις. τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐνθένδε ἐρῶν¹ ἔρχομαι.
 4 Φρούριόν ἐστιν ἐν προαστείῳ τῆς πόλεως, ὅπερ Στρογγύλον ὀμωνύμως τῇ τοῦ ἐρύματος
 5 συνθέσει καλοῦσιν. ἐντεῦθεν ἡ ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον ὁδὸς ἄγουσα, ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνώμαλος οὖσα, ὄμβρων, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἐπιπεσόντων, τελματώδης τε καὶ δυσπάρितος τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσιν
 6 ἐγίνετο. νῦν δὲ λίθοις αὐτὴν καταστρώσας ἀμαξιαίοις ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος² εὐπετῇ τε κατεστήσατο
 7 καὶ ἄπονον ὅλως. μῆκος μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ τῇδε ἄχρι ἐς Ῥήγιον· εὐρύνεται δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐς ὅσον ἀμάξας οὐ στενοχωρεῖν δύο ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἀλλήλαις ἰούσας.
 8 τραχεῖς οἱ λίθοι διαφερόντως· εἰκάσαις ἂν αὐτοὺς μυλίστας³ εἶναι· εὐμεγέθεις τέ εἰσι μάλιστα. ὥστε δὴ ἕκαστος γῆν μὲν ἐπικαλύπτει πολλήν,
 P 85 9 ἐς ἄγαν δὲ ὑψοῦ ἀνέχει. ἐς δὲ τό τε ὁμαλὲς καὶ

¹ ἐρῶν V, λέξων A.

² οὗτος A, οὕτως V.

³ μυλίστας Haurv: μυλίας V, om. A.

other parts of Illyricum,¹ also in Greece and along the Ister River has already been described by me. Next let us go to Thrace, laying down as the fairest foundation, as it were, for our narrative the environs of Byzantium, since this city is preëminent in Thrace not only because of its power, but also by reason of its natural site, planted as it is on Europe like a kind of acropolis and finally setting a guard over the sea which divides it from Asia. I have already described in the preceding narrative all the buildings of the city itself, including the work which was done for the shrines, both inside and outside the walls of Constantinople. I shall now proceed from that point.

In a suburb of the city there is a fortress which they call Strongylum² from the form in which it is built. The road which leads from that point to Rhegium³ was for the most part uneven; and if rain chanced to fall it became a bog and was difficult for travellers to get through. But now this Emperor has paved it with blocks of stone each large enough to load a waggon and so has made it altogether practicable and easy. In length, this road extends all the way to Rhegium and its breadth is such that two waggons, going in opposite directions, have no lack of room. The paving-stones are exceptionally coarse, so that you would suppose them to be mill-stones; and they are of goodly size. Consequently each one covers much ground and stands very high. They are very

¹ See note 1, p. 243.

² "Round."

³ This would be the famous Via Egnatia which ran west to the Adriatic and terminated at a point near modern Valona. On the situation of Rhegium, see E. Mamboury in *Byzantion*, xiii., 1938, pp. 308-310.

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τό γε λείον ἐπικεικῶς ἐξειργασμένοι, οὐκ ἐνῆφθαι τῇ συνθέσει, οὐδέ πη ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς μεμυκέναι, ἀλλὰ συμπεφυκέναι δοκοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοιαυτὰ ἐστί.

- 10 Λίμνην δέ τινα εἶναι ἄγχιστα τοῦ Ῥηγίου καλουμένου ξυμβαίνει ἐς ἣν τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχουσι ποταμοὶ ἐκ χωρίων τῶν ὑπερθεῖν τῇδε φερόμενοι.
- 11 διακέχυται δὲ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη μέχρι ἐς θάλασσαν· ὥστε μία τις ἀμφοτέραιν ἀκτὴ ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα
- 12 τυγχάνει οὔσα. ταύτην δὲ ἄμφω ἐπικλύζουσι τὴν ἀκτὴν ἀντικυματοῦσαι, καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἀντιμυκώμεναι, αἰεὶ τε ἀλλήλαις εὐθὺ ἵενται τὴν ἡϊόνα ἐπικοινωνόμεναι. ἐπειδὴν δὲ ὡς πλησιαίτατα ἴκωνται, ἀναχαιτίζουσι τὴν ἐπιρροήν, ἐφ' ἑαυτὰς ἐπιστρέφουσαι, ὥσπερ ἐνταῦθα τὰ ὄρια σφίσι
- 13 πηξάμεναι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀλλήλαις οὗ ἀναμίγνυνται, πορθμόν τινα μεταξὺ ἔχουσαι, ἄδηλον ὃν ὁποτέρᾳ ποτὲ αὐτῶν τὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ὕδωρ
- 14 διακεκλήρωται. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπιρροὴ ἐς τὴν λίμνην¹ αἰεὶ φέρεται οὔτε διηνεκὲς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἡ λίμνη² ἐκβάλλει, ἀλλ' ὁμβρων μὲν ἐπιγενομένων πολλῶν, ἐπιπνεύσαντός τε ἀνέμου νότου, ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ὁ πορθμὸς προῖων
- 15 φαίνεται. ἦν δὲ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ τὸ πνεῦμα ἴοι, ἡ θάλασσα τὴν λίμνην ἐπικλύζειν δοκεῖ. ἐν τούτῳ μέντοι ἡ θάλασσα τῷ χώρῳ ἐς βράχος κατατείνει παμμέγεθες, ὀλίγης τινὸς ἀπολελειμμένης μεταξὺ
- 16 χώρας ἥπερ διήκει ἐς ἄβυσσον· ἐς τόσον δὲ στενὴ³ τυγχάνει οὔσα, ὥστε δὴ καὶ Μύρμηξ ὠνόμασται. οὗτος δὲ ὁ πορθμὸς, ὃ τε τὴν

¹ λίμνην V, ἡϊόνα A. ² ἡ λίμνη A, τὴν λίμνην V.

³ τόσον δὲ στενὴ A, τοσόνδε V.

carefully worked so as to form a smooth and even surface, and they give the appearance not simply of being laid together at the joints, or even of being exactly fitted, but they seem actually to have grown together.¹ So much, then, for this.

There chances to be a kind of lake very close to this place called Rhegium, into which pour streams that flow from the adjacent uplands. This lake extends as far as the sea so that in the very narrow tongue of land between them they have a common shore. Both sea and lake wash against this shore as their waters roll against its opposite sides, and they bellow against each other as they constantly rush straight on towards one another, sharing a common beach. But when they come very close, they check their flow and turn upon themselves, just as if they had fixed their limits there. However, there is a place where the waters mingle, having a sort of strait between them, and it is uncertain to which of them belongs the water of the strait. Neither does the current of the sea always flow into the lake nor does the lake continuously empty into the sea; but when heavy rains have fallen, and when the south wind has been blowing, the water of the channel seems to flow out from the lake, but if the wind comes from the north, the sea seems to be flooding into the lake. At this point, moreover, the sea is shallow for a considerable distance, with the exception of a very small space where the depth is great. Indeed this is so narrow that it is called Myrmex.² This strait which joins the sea and the

¹ Cf. the description of the Appian Way in *Wars*, V. xiv. 6-11.

² "Ant."

- θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν λίμνην ζευγνύων,¹ ἥπερ μοι
εἴρηται, πάλαι μὲν γεφύρα ξυλίνη διαβατὸς ἦν
ἐπὶ κινδύνῳ μάλιστα τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσιν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς
17 ξύλοις, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ξυνδιεφθείροντο.² νῦν δὲ
αὐτὴν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς λίθοις λογάδην
B 296 ἐμβεβλημένοις ἐς αἰψίδος μετεωρίσας μέγα τι
χρῆμα, τὴν ἐκείνη διάβασιν ἀκίνδυνον κατεστήσατο.
18 Τοῦ δὲ Ῥηγίου ἐπέκεινα πόλις ἐστὶ που,
Ἀθύρας ὄνομα, ἥσπερ τοὺς οἰκήτορας δῖψῃ
δεινοτάτῃ ἐχομένους εὐρὼν τὴν ἀπορίαν διέλυσεν
σφίσιν, ἔλутρον ἐνταῦθα δειμάμενος, θησανρίζων
μὲν ἐπικαιριώτατα τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν
περιουσίαν, πρυτανεύων δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ
τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις. ἀνωκοδομήσατο δὲ καὶ τὰ
πεπονθότα³ τοῦ περιβόλου.
19 Ἔστι δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἀθύραν τις χῶρος, ὅνπερ
20 Ἐπισκοπεῖα καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ὃν δὴ κατα-
νενοηκῶς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων
ἐπιδρομαῖς ὑποκείμενον,⁴ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δέ, ὥς
οὐδαμῇ ὀχυρώματος ὄντος, ἀφύλακτα παντάπασιν
ὄντα τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, φρούριον ἐνταῦθα ἐδείματο.
οὐ δὴ τοὺς πύργους πεποιήται οὐχ ἥπερ εἰώθει,
21 ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. προὔχει τις ἐκ τοῦ περι-
βόλου οἰκοδομία, στενωπάτῃ μὲν κατ' ἀρχὰς
οὔσα, τελευτῶσα δὲ ἐς εὖρος μέγα· ἐφ' οὗ δὴ
22 ἕκαστος ἐξείργασται πύργος. ταύτῃ τε τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἀγχιστὰ πῃ τοῦ τείχους ἵεναι ἀμήχανά
ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ τῶν πύργων κατὰ μέσον γινόμενοι ἐν
ἀμφιβόλῳ κατὰ κορυφὴν πρὸς τῶν ἐκείνη φρουρῶν
23 ῥᾶστα βαλλόμενοι διαφθείρονται. τὰς τε πύλας

¹ ζευγνύων V, ξυνδέων A.

² ξυνδιεφθείροντο Haury: διεφθείροντο.

lake, as I have said, was crossed in ancient times by a wooden bridge, with great danger for those passing that way, because they were often destroyed together with the bridge-timbers if they happened to collapse. But now the Emperor Justinian has carried the bridge on a huge arch built of picked stones, and thus he has made the crossing there free from danger.

Beyond Rhegium is a certain city named Athyras, whose inhabitants he found suffering from extreme scarcity of water; this difficulty he remedied for them by building a reservoir there, in which by storing at just the right time the unnecessary excess of water, he dispensed it as needed to the inhabitants. He also rebuilt such parts of the circuit-wall as had suffered.

Beyond Athyras is a certain place which the inhabitants call Episcopia. The Emperor Justinian, perceiving that this lay exposed to the assaults of the enemy, and that a large expanse of country here was altogether unguarded, since no stronghold at all existed, built a fortress in that place; and he built the towers there, not in the customary manner, but as follows. At regular intervals a structure is built out from the circuit-wall, very narrow at first, but finally spreading out to a great breadth; on this in each case a tower was erected. Thus it is impossible for the enemy to get close to the wall anywhere, because when they get into a precarious position between the towers they are easily shot at from both sides and from above by the guards there and are destroyed. The gates too he did not place in the

³ πεπανθότα V : πεπονηκότα A.

⁴ ὑποκείμενον V : ἀποκείμενον A.

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ἐνταῦθα οὐ κατὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα τῶν πύργων¹
 μεταξὺ ἔθεντο, ἀλλ' ἐκ πλαγίας κατὰ τὸ ἐν
 στενῷ προὔχον τοῦ τείχους, οὐχ ὀρωμένας τοῖς
 24 πολεμίοις, ἀλλ' ὅπισθεν διαλανθανούσας. ἐνταῦθα
 Θεόδωρος βασιλεῖ τὴν ὑπουργίαν παρέσχετο,
 25 σιλεντιάριος τὴν ἀρχήν, συνετὸς μάλιστα. τοῦτο
 μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔρυμα τῇδε πεποιήται. ἐπὶ τείχῃ δὲ
 B 297 τὰ μακρὰ ἐνθένδε ἰόντας ὀλίγα ὑπειπεῖν ἄξιον.

θ'. Ἡ θάλασσα ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Ἰσπανίας γῆν
 τὴν Εὐρωπαϊάν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ποιουμένη μέχρι μὲν
 εἰς Θράκην κατὰ ταῦτα² χωρεῖ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντά
 που τὸν ἥλιον, ἔνθεν δὲ σχιζομένη πῇ μὲν ἐπὶ
 τὴν ἐώαν στέλλεται μοῖραν, πῇ δὲ κατὰ βραχὺ
 ἐγκαρσία γεγεννημένη τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον
 2 ἀποτελεῖ πόντον. εἰς Βυζάντιον δὲ ἀφικομένη
 ὥσπερ ἐπὶ νύσσης τινὸς καμπὴν ποιεῖται ἀμφὶ τὰ
 πρὸς ἑω τῆς πόλεως, πλαγία τε πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον
 γιγνομένη ἐν πορθμῷ ἵεται, ἰσθμὸν τῆς Θράκης
 τά τε πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἐργαζομένη.
 3 οὐχ ὅτι εἰς ἐκροὰς ἐνταῦθα ἡ θάλασσα μερίζεται
 δύο, ἥπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἰσθμοῖς εἶθεν, ἀλλὰ
 περιστρεφομένη τε θαυμασίως ὡς καὶ περιβαλ-
 λομένη ἐκατέρωθεν Θράκην τε τὴν ἄλλην καὶ
 διαφερόντως τὰ ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου προάστεια πάντα.
 4 οἰκοδομοῦνται δὲ καὶ περιστέλλουσιν οἱ ταύτῃ
 ἄνθρωποι τὰ προάστεια οὐχ ὅσον εἰς χρεῖαν, ἀλλ'
 εἰς ὑβριν τε καὶ τρυφὴν ὅρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν, καὶ
 ὅσα ἄλλα πλούτου ἐξουσία εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους

¹ πύργων V : ἔργων A.

² ταῦτα Haury : ταῦτα.

¹ Privy counsellor ; cf. Wars II. xxi. 2.

² Of Constantinople.

customary position between the towers, but at an angle, in the narrow part of the projection which runs out from the wall, where they could not be seen by the enemy but were masked behind the towers. In that place Theodore, a very clever man who held the office of silentiarius,¹ was of service to the Emperor. Thus were these fortifications built. And it is proper, proceeding thence to the long walls,² to explain them briefly.

ix. The Sea,³ commencing from the Ocean and from Spain, goes on in a single direction, approximately eastward, keeping Europe on its left as far as Thrace, but at that point it divides itself and while one portion goes towards the East, another part of it turns gradually, at an oblique angle,⁴ and forms the Euxine Sea, as it is called. When it reaches Byzantium, it makes a bend about the eastern portion of the city, as if rounding a turning-post, and bending much more obliquely,⁵ it runs in the form of a strait,⁶ turning the front and back portions of Thrace into an isthmus, as one would expect. This does not mean that the sea is divided here into two separate bays,⁷ as is wont to happen at other isthmuses, but it circles round in a marvellous way, from two sides surrounding Thrace and especially all the suburbs of Byzantium. The people there build and adorn their suburbs, not only to meet the actual needs of life, but they display an insolent and boundless luxury and all the other vices that the power of wealth brings

³ The Mediterranean.

⁴ North-eastward.

⁵ That is, turning toward the north-west.

⁶ The Bosphorus.

⁷ Procopius uses the term "outlets" (or "mouths") for the recesses of the sea which, opposite each other, make an isthmus between them, which is not the case here.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 5 ἰοῦσα ποιεῖ. ἐπιπλά τε κατατίθενται ἐνταῦθα
πολλὰ καὶ διαπονήματα ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνδελεχέστατα
ἔχουσιν. ἐπειδὰν οὖν καταθεῖν τινας τῶν πολεμίων
γῆν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαπιναίως ξυνενεχθεῖη, οὐδὲν
ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις προστρίβεσθαι τὴν
ζημίαν ἐνταῦθα ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλὰ κακοῖς ἄγαν τοῖς
6 ἀνηκέστοις βαρύνεσθαι τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία.¹ ὁ δὲ
ἀναστέλλειν Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς διὰ σπουδῆς
ἔχων ἐν χώροις οὐχ ἥσσον ἢ σημείοις τεσσαρά-
κοντα τοῦ Βυζαντίου διέχουσι μακρὰ οἰκοδομη-
B 298 σάμενος τείχη, ἄμφω τῆς θαλάσσης τὰς ἀκτὰς
ἔξευξεν, οὗ δὲ ἀλλήλαιν διεστήκασιν ὁδῶ ἡμέραιν
δυοῖν² μάλιστα· ταύτῃ τε ἅπαντα ἐν τῷ ἐχυρῷ
7 καθεστάναι τὰ ἐντὸς ᾤετο. ἦν δὲ ἄρα μειζόνων
τοῦτο συμφορῶν αἷτιον. οὐδὲ³ γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν
οἰκοδομίαν τοσαύτην τὸ μέγεθος ἢ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς
ἐξεργάσθαι, ἢ φρουρεῖσθαι ξὺν τῷ ἀκριβεῖ.
P 87 8 ἐπειδὰν τε μοῖρα τινὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν μακρῶν
τειχῶν ἐπισκῆψαιεν οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ τοὺς φρου-
ροὺς ἅπαντας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιοῦντο οὐδενὶ πόνῳ,
τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἐπιπίπτοντες ἀπροσδόκητοι κακὰ
οὐκ εὐδιήγητα ἐξεργάζοντο.
9 Ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς τά τε πεπονθότα τούτων δὴ
ἀνοικοδομησάμενος τῶν τειχῶν, τά τε σφαλερὰ
ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχυρώτατον κρατυνάμενος τῶν φρουρῶν
10 ἔνεκα, προσεπετεχνήσατο τάδε. τὰς μὲν ἐξόδους,
αἵπερ ἐκ πύργου ἐκάστου ἐς τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐχομένους
11 ἐξάγουσιν, ἐφράξατο πάσας. ἄνοδον δὲ καθ'
ἕκαστον ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἔντοσθεν ἐτεκτῆνατο
μίαν.⁴ ἦν περ ἐπὶ καιροῦ καθειργνύντες οἱ ταύτῃ
φρουροὶ τοὺς πολεμίους περιφρονοῦσι τοῦ περι-

¹ χωρία V: χωρία ξυμβαίνει A.

when it comes to men. And they accumulate much furniture in their houses and make it a point to keep costly objects in them. Thus, when it comes about that any of the enemy overrun the land of the Romans suddenly, the damage caused there is much greater than in other places, and the region is then overwhelmed with irreparable calamities. The Emperor Anastasius had determined to put a stop to this and so built long walls¹ at a distance of not less than forty miles from Byzantium, uniting the two shores of the sea on a line where they are separated by about a two-days' journey.² By this means he thought that everything inside was placed in security. But in fact this was the cause of greater calamities. For neither was it possible to make safe a structure of such great length nor could it be guarded rigorously. And whenever the enemy descended on any portion of these long walls, they both overpowered all the guards with no difficulty, and falling unexpectedly upon the other people they inflicted loss not easy to describe.

But the Emperor rebuilt those portions of these walls which had suffered, and making the weak parts very strong for the sake of the guards, he added the following devices. He blocked up all the exits from each tower leading to those adjoining it; and he built from the ground up a single ascent inside each individual tower, which the guards there can close in case of emergency and scorn the enemy if

¹ Cf. *Wars*, VII. xl. 43, and note.

² Forty miles.

² *δυοῖν* Haury: *δυεῖν*.

³ *οὐδὲ* Haury: *οὔτε*.

⁴ So V; *ἐτεκτῆνατο μίαν ἐκ τοῦ ἐδάφους* A

- βόλου ἐντὸς γενομένους· ἐπεὶ πύργος ἐς ἀσφάλειαν
 ἕκαστος αὐτὸς κατὰ μόνας τοῖς φρουροῖς ἀπόχρη.¹
 12 καὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν τειχῶν ἐντὸς ² τὰ ἐς ἀσφάλειαν
 ἐνδελεχέστατα διεπράξατο, τά τε ἄλλα πεποιημένος
 ἥπερ μοι ἔναγχος εἴρηται καὶ πόλεως Σηλυβρίας ³
 ἀνανεωσάμενος ὅσα πεπονθότα τοῦ περιβόλου
 13 ἐτύγχανεν. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν
 ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ εἵργασται.
 14 Ἡράκλεια δὲ ἥ πόλις ἦδε, ἥ παραλία, ἥ ἐν
 γειτόνων, ἥ Πέρινθος (ἥ πάλαι μὲν τὰ πρωτεῖα
 τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐδίδοσαν, νῦν δὲ δὴ μετὰ γε Κων-
 σταντινούπολιν τὰ δευτερεῖα παρέχονται) διψῶσά
 τε καὶ λίαν αὐχμῶσα ἔναγχος ἔκειτο, οὐχ ὅτι
 ἄνυδρος ἦν ⁴ ἢ ἀμφ' αὐτὴν χώρα, οὐδὲ ὅτι ἀπημέ-
 λητο ταῦτα τοῖς ἐκ παλαιοῦ δειμαμένοις τὴν
 πόλιν (ἐπεὶ καὶ κατάρρυτος Εὐρώπη ταῖς κρήναις,
 καὶ ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις ὀχετοὺς
 ἔμελεν), ἀλλὰ τὰ ξυνειθισμένα ποιῶν ὁ χρόνος τῇ
 πόλει τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν ἀνῆρηκεν, ἣ καταγεγη-
 ρακυῖαν τὴν οἰκοδομίαν ὑπεριδῶν, ἣ τῷ μὴ
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν
 φθορὰν ποδηγούμενος. ὀλίγου τε ἀοίκητος διὰ
 15 τοῦτο Ἡράκλεια ἐλέλειπτο εἶναι. ταῦτό δὲ
 τοῦτο καὶ τὰ ἐκείνη βασιλεία ὁ χρόνος ἐποίει
 16 ἀξιοθέατα ἐπιεικῶς ὄντα. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστι-
 νιανὸς οὐ παρέργως, ἀλλὰ βασιλικῶς μάλιστα,
 τὴν πόλιν ἰδὼν, ὕδασι τε αὐτὴν ποτίμοις καὶ

¹ ἀπόχρη V: ἀπέχρη A.

² ἐντὸς V: om. A.

³ σηλυβρίας V: μεσημβρίας A.

⁴ ἦν added by Haury.

they have penetrated inside the circuit-wall, since each tower by itself was sufficient to ensure safety for its guards. Also inside these walls he diligently made provision for safety, not only doing what has just been mentioned, but also restoring all the parts of the circuit-wall of the city of Selymbria¹ which happened to have been damaged. These things then were done by the Emperor Justinian at the long walls.

The well-known city of Heraclea² which is situated on the coast near by, the ancient Perinthus—which in former times men regarded as the first city of Europe, though it now takes a place second to Constantinople—suffered cruelly from lack of water in recent times. This was not because the country about it had no water, nor yet because this matter was neglected by the ancient builders of the city (for Europe has an abundance of springs and the men of ancient times were careful to build aqueducts), but because Time, following its custom, had destroyed the city's aqueduct, since it either failed to notice that its masonry had become enfeebled by age, or else was leading the people of Heraclea to their own destruction through their neglect of it;³ and the city was nearly left depopulated for this reason. And Time was having the same effect upon the palace there, a very admirable building. But when the Emperor Justinian saw the city, he in no careless fashion, but rather in a manner befitting an

¹ Modern Silivri, on the north shore of the Propontis.

² Modern Eregli, on a peninsula twenty-two miles west of Selymbria. It was founded in 559 B.C.

³ The rendering reproduces the author's personification of Time, illogical as it is.

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διειδέσιν ἐπέκλυσε, καὶ τῶν βασιλείων ἀποστερεῖσθαι τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὡς ἥκιστα ξυνεχώρησεν, ἀνοικοδομησάμενος ἅπαντα.

- 17 Ἑρακλείας δὲ ἄποθεν ἡμέρας ὁδὸν χωρίον ἐπιθαλασσίδιον ἦν, Ῥαιδεστός ὄνομα, παράπλου μὲν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου καλῶς κείμενον, εὐλίμενον δὲ καὶ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐργασίᾳ ἐπιτηδείως ἔχον τοῖς ἐπ' ¹ ἐμπορίᾳ ναυτιλλομένοις καταίρειν τε καὶ ἀποφορτίζεσθαι προσηνῶς μάλιστα, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἀνάγεσθαι οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐμπλησαμένοις τοῦ γόμου τὰ πλοῖα· βαρβάροις δὲ ἀποκείμενον καταθέουσιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχη, ² ἔξαπιναίως τὰ ἐκεῖνη χωρία, τῷ μήτε ἀποτετριγχωμένον μήτε
- P 88 18 τῇ φύσει δυσπρόσοδον εἶναι. ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις δέει τοῦ κινδύνου ὑπεροφθὲν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ
- 19 ἐγένετο. νῦν δὲ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς οὐχ ὅσον τῷ χωρίῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν προσεποίησεν,
- 20 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους ἐσώσατο πάντας. ἐπὶ
- B 300 21 Ῥαιδεστοῦ γὰρ ἀνέστησε πόλιν, τείχει μὲν ἐρυμνὴν, μεγέθει δὲ διαφερόντως ὑπέρογκον. οὐ δὴ βαρβάρων σφίσιν ἐγκειμένων οἱ πλησιόχωροι ἅπαντες εἰς καιρὸν καταφεύγοντες σὺν τοῖς χρήμασι διασώζονται.

ἰ'. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ Ῥαιδεστοῦ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχεν. ὅσα δὲ αὐτῷ ἀμφὶ

2 Χερρονήσῳ διαπεπόνηται, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. προβέβληται μὲν πάσης ἢ Χερρόνησος τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν Θράκης. ἐπεμβαίνουσα γὰρ τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ ὥσπερ ἐχομένη τοῦ πρόσω, δόκησιν παρέχεται

¹ ἐπ' added by Haury.

² τύχη V: τύχοι A.

Emperor, flooded it with crystal-clear drinking-water, and he, far from permitting the city to be deprived of the honour of its palace, rebuilt it throughout.

One day's journey distant from Heraclea was a town on the coast named Rhaedestus,¹ well situated for the voyage to the Hellespont, with a good harbour well adapted for the business of the sea, so that merchant vessels could put in and unload their cargoes very conveniently and then put out to sea again with no difficulty after loading their freight. But it lay exposed to the barbarians, who sometimes overran that region in unexpected raids, because it was not protected even by makeshift defences nor was it naturally difficult of access. Consequently the place came to be disregarded and neglected by the merchants through fear of the risk. But now the Emperor Justinian has not only provided for the safety of the place but has also saved all those who dwell round about. For he erected at Rhaedestus a city which is not only strongly defended by its wall, but is also of extraordinary size. Hither on occasion all those who dwell near by flee for refuge when the barbarians fall upon them, and they thus save themselves and their property.

x. Such were the works carried out by the Emperor Justinian at Rhaedestus. I shall go on to tell what he did in the region of the Chersonese.² The Chersonese extends out from all that portion of Thrace. It projects boldly into the sea and seems to be pressing onward, giving the impression that it is

¹ Modern Rodosto, west of Heraclea, on the north shore of the Propontis; its original name was Bisanthê.

² Modern Gallipoli Peninsula

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- 3 ὅτι δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν χωρεῖ. ἀκτὴ δὲ αὐτῆς
 ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ἐλαιῶντα προὔχουσα μία, σχίζει τε
 εἰς δύο τὴν θάλασσαν μοίρας, καὶ αὐτὴ τῷ ῥοθίῳ
 ἀποτεμνομένη τῆς ἄλλης ἡπείρου, καὶ προσιούσῃ
 ἐπίπροσθεν τῇ θαλάσῃ ὑποχωροῦσα, τὸν Μέλανα
 4 καλούμενον ποιεῖ κόλπον. νῆσος δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν
 ὀλίγου δέοντος γίνεται, ὄνομα τῷ ποιουμένῳ
 προσῆκον κτωμένη. Χερρόνησος γάρ, ὡς τὸ
 εἰκός, ὀνομάζεται, ἰσθμῷ διειργομένη βραχεὶ μὴ
 5 νῆσος παντάπασιν εἶναι. κατὰ τοῦτον οἱ πάσαι
 ἄνθρωποι τὸν ἰσθμὸν παρέργως τε καὶ λίαν
 ἀπημελημένως ἐδείμαντο διατείχισμα κλίμακι
 6 ἀλωτόν. κῆπον γάρ πού τινα εἰκὴ κείμενον
 αἵμασιᾷ περιβάλλειν οἰόμενοι, ἰσχνόν τε αὐτὸ καὶ
 ὀλίγον τῆς γῆς ὑπερανεστηκός¹ ἐξειργάσαντο.
 7 πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑκατέρωθι τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ θάλασσαν
 προβόλους τεκτηνάμενοι βραχεῖς τε καὶ φαύλους,
 οὗσπερ καλεῖν νενομίκασι μώλους, τὴν μεταξὺ
 χώραν τοῦ τε ῥοθίου καὶ τοῦ περιβόλου ἐφράξαντο,
 οὐ ταύτῃ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἀπωσόμενοι, ἀλλ'
 ἐπὶ τὰς εἰσόδους παρακαλέσοντες· οὕτω δὴ αὐτὸ
 εὐκαταφρόνητον ἐξειργάσαντο, καὶ τοῖς ἀποπειρα-
 8 σομένοις εὐάλωτον. ἡγούμενοι δέ τι τοῖς
 πολεμίοις ἄμαχον πεποιῆσθαι ὀχύρωμα, τούτου
 δὴ τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ ἐντὸς ἅπαντα φυλακῆς
 οὐδεμιᾷς ἀξιούν ἔγνωσαν, ἐπεὶ οὔτε φρούριον
 οὔτε ἄλλο τι ἔρυμα ἐπὶ Χερρονήσου ξυνέβαινεν
 εἶναι, καίπερ ὀλίγου δέοντος ἐς τριῶν κατα-
 9 τεινούσης ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν. ἔναγχος ἀμέλει γοῦν οἱ

B 301

¹ ὑπερανεστηκός V : ἐπανεστηκός A.

¹ I.e. in a south-westerly direction, toward the Troad.

advancing toward Asia.¹ It has a single projecting point at the city of Elaeus,² and this divides the sea into two parts, while the promontory itself is cut off from the rest of the mainland by the water, and curves inward before the advancing sea to form the so-called Gulf of Melas.³ The remainder of it almost forms an island, acquiring a name appropriate to the shape which it assumes, for it is called Chersonese, most likely because it is prevented only by a tiny isthmus from being altogether an island. At this isthmus the men of former times built a cross-wall of a very casual and indifferent sort which could be captured with the help of a ladder, because, I suppose, they thought they were building an earthen wall around a casually placed garden-plot, and so built it of meagre dimensions and rising only slightly from the ground. And facing the sea at either side of the isthmus they constructed wretched little bastions, of the sort which people are wont to call "moles," and with these they closed the gap between the water and the circuit-wall, not with the expectation of repelling attacking forces at this point, but rather in order to invite them to effect an entrance; so contemptible did they make them and so easy to capture for any who should attack. But they thought they had set up a kind of invincible bulwark against the enemy and so decided to regard everything inside this circuit-wall as requiring no further protection, for there actually was neither fort nor any other stronghold on the Chersonese, though it extends to a length of almost three days' journey.⁴ Indeed the enemy,

² At the southern tip of the peninsula.

³ Modern Gulf of Saros.

⁴ Sixty miles.

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πολέμιοι καταθέοντες τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θράκης χωρία ἐγκεχειρήκασιν μὲν ὡς ἀποπειρασόμενοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἡϊόνα εισόδου, δεδιξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς ταύτῃ φρουροὺς ἐσπεπηδήκασιν ὥσπερ τι ἄθυρμα παίζοντες, ἐντὸς τε τοῦ περιβόλου γεγένηνται οὐδενὶ πόνῳ.

- 10 Πολλὰ τοίνυν ἀμφὶ τῶν κατηκόων¹ τῇ σωτηρίᾳ διασκοπούμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐποίει τάδε.
- 11 πρῶτα μὲν αὐτῷ² ἐξίτηλον τὸ παλαιὸν γεγένηται τεῖχος, οὐδὲ ὅσον ἵχνους οἱ ἀπολελειμμένου τινός.
- 12 ἕτερον δὲ αὐτίκα ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας ἀνέστη,
- 13 ὅπερ ἐπιεικῶς εὐρυνόμενον ὕψου ἀνέχει. ὑπεράνω τε τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀνειλημμένη³ θόλος ἐν στοᾷς τρόπῳ ὄροφον ποιεῖται, καλύπτουσα τοὺς τοῦ
- 14 περιβόλου ἀμυνομένους. ἄλλοι τε τῇ⁴ θόλῳ προμαχῶνες ἐγκείμενοι διπλασιάζουσι τοῖς τῇδε τειχομαχοῦσι τὸν πόλεμον. ἔπειτα δὲ ἀμφοτέρωθι ἐς
- 15 τοῦ περιβόλου τὰ πέρατα πρὸς αὐταῖς που τῆς θαλάσσης ταῖς ῥαχίαις μάλιστα, προβόλους πεποιήται,⁵ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μὲν τοῦ ῥοθίου διήκοντας, τῷ δὲ τείχει ξυναπτομένους, ὕψους δὲ περί τῷ
- 16 ἐρύματι ἐναμίλλους ὄντας. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τάφρον τοῦ περιβόλου ἔκτοσθεν οὔσαν περικαθάρως τε καὶ κατορύξας ἐνδελεχέστατα μέγα τι αὐτῇ
- 17 εὗρους τε καὶ βάθους ἐντέθεται χρῆμα.⁶ καὶ μὴν καὶ στρατιωτῶν καταλόγους ἐν τούτοις ἰδρύσατο
- B 302 τοῖς μακροῖς τείχεσι πᾶσι βαρβάροις ἀντιτάξασθαι ἱκανοὺς ὄντας, ἣν τι τῆς Χερρονήσου ἀποπειρῶνται.
- 18 οὕτω δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ τῆς ἀσφαλείας

¹ κατηκόων V, A: κατοικούντων corrector in V.

² αὐτῷ V: αὐτὸ A.

while overrunning the land of Thrace recently, did actually undertake to force the entrance by the beach, and frightening off the guards there they leaped inside just as if they were playing a game, and they got inside the defences with no trouble.

So the Emperor Justinian, with his constant solicitude for the safety of his subjects, did as follows. First of all he demolished completely the old wall, so that not so much as a trace of it was left. And he straightway erected another wall, upon the same ground, very broad and rising to a great height. Above the battlements a set-back¹ vaulted structure in the manner of a colonnaded stoa makes a roof to shelter those who defend the circuit-wall. And other breastworks resting upon the vaulted structure double the fighting for those who lay siege to the wall. Furthermore, at either end of the wall, at the very edge of the sea, he made bastions (*proboloi*) extending far out into the water, which were joined to the wall and rivalled its defences in height. He also cleared the moat outside the wall and dug it out very thoroughly, adding a great deal to its width and to its depth. Furthermore, he stationed detachments of soldiers on these long walls, sufficient to offer resistance to all the barbarians if they should make any attempt upon the Chersonese. And after he had made all this firm provision for its safety, he also

¹ This seems to be the meaning of ἀνειλημμένη.

³ ἀνειλημμένη V: om. A.

⁴ τῇ Haury: τῷ.

⁵ οὓς μάλους καλοῦσιν after πεποιήται deleted by Haury.

⁶ ἐντέθεται χρῆμα V: σχῆμα ἐντέθεται A.

- καταστησάμενος καὶ τοῖς ἔνδον οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν
 19 ὀχυρώματα προσεποίησεν· ὥστε εἰ τοῖς μακροῖς
 τείχεσιν (ἀπέστω δὲ τοῦ λόγου) παθεῖν τι ξυμβαίη,
 οὐδέν τι ἦσσαν Χερρωνησιώτας ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι.
 20 πόλιν τε γὰρ Ἀφροδισιάδα ἐρύματι ἐχυρωτάτῳ
 περιεβάλλετο, ἀτείχιστον ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον τὰ
 πρότερα οὔσαν, καὶ Κίβεριν πόλιν, ἐπ' ἐδάφους
 21 κειμένην, τειχίῃρη πεποιημένος ξυνώκισεν· ἔνθα
 δὴ καὶ βαλανεῖα καὶ ξενῶνας ὠκοδομήσατο
 οἰκία τε παμπληθῇ καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα πέφυκεν ἐπιφανῇ
 22 ἐνδείκνυσθαι πόλιν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Καλλίπολιν
 καλουμένην βεβαιότατα ἐτειχίσατο, ἐλπίδι τῶν
 μακρῶν τειχῶν ἀτείχιστον ἀπολελειμμένην τοῖς
 23 πρόσθεν ἀνθρώποις. οὗ δὴ καὶ σιτωνάς τε καὶ
 οἰνῶνας ἐδείματο δαπάνῃ τῇ πάσῃ τῶν ἐπὶ Χερρο-
 νήσου στρατιωτῶν ἱκανῶς ἔχοντας.
 24 Ἔστι δέ τις Ἀβύδου καταντικρὺ πόλις ἀρχαία,
 Σηστός ὄνομα, καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ πρότερα παρέργως
 25 κειμένη, ὀχύρωμά τε οὐδὲν ἔχουσα. λόφος δὲ
 αὐτῇ τις ἰσχυρῶς ἀπότομος ἐπανέστηκεν· ἵνα
 δὴ φρούριον ἐδείματο ἀπρόσβατον ὅλως, ἐλεῖν τε,
 26 εἴ τις ἐγχειροίῃ, ἀμήχανον. Σηστοῦ δὲ οὐ
 μακρὰν ἀποθεν τὴν Ἐλαιοῦντα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι.
 πέτρα τε τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπορραγεῖσα ἐνταῦθα
 ἀνέχει, ἄκραν οὐρανομήκη ἐξαίρουσα τειχήρη
 27 φύσιν. φρούριον οὖν καὶ τῇδε ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος
 ἐδείματο, δυσπάριτόν τε καὶ τοῖς προσιούσι
 28 παντελῶς ἄμαχον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν Θεσκῷ
 φρούριον ἐπὶ θάτερα τοῦ μακροῦ τείχους ἰδρύσατο,
 περιβόλῳ κρατυνάμενος ἐχυρῷ μάλιστα· ταύτῃ

B 303

¹ Modern Gallipoli.

built additional strongholds for the people inside; so that if (God forbid) any mischance should befall the long walls, the inhabitants of the Chersonese would none the less be in safety. For he surrounded the city of Aphrodisias with very strong defences, though it had been unwallled for the most part before that, and he put walls around the city of Ciberis which was lying dismantled, and provided it with inhabitants. He also built there baths and guest-houses and numerous dwellings, and all the other things which make a city notable. Furthermore, he provided Callipolis,¹ as it is called, with a very strong wall, a city which had been left unwallled by the men of earlier times because of the faith which was placed in the long walls. There too he built storehouses for grain and for wine amply sufficient for all the wants of the soldiers in Chersonese.

There was a certain ancient city opposite Abydus,² Sestus³ by name, which again had been carelessly planned in earlier times and had no defences. A certain very steep hill towers above it, on which he built an altogether inaccessible fortress, which cannot possibly be taken by any assailant. And it happens that at no great distance from Sestus is situated Elaeus, where a precipitous rock rises from the sea, culminating in a lofty headland which is a natural fortress. So this Emperor built a fort there too, which is hard to get past and altogether impregnable for assailants. Furthermore, he founded the fortress at Thescus on the other side of the long wall, strengthening it by means of an especially strong circuit-wall.

² On the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont.

³ On the Chersonese.

τε τοῖς Χερρωνησιώταις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν πανταχόθεν αὐτὸς προσεποίησε.

P 90

ια'. Μετὰ δὲ Χερρόνησον Αἶνος οἰκεῖται πόλις, ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ τῆς προσηγορίας ὠνομασμένη. Αἰνείας γὰρ ἦν, ὥσπερ λέγουσιν, ὁ τοῦ Ἀγχίσου.
 2 ταύτης ὁ περίβολος εὐάλωτός τε ἦν τῷ χθαμαλὸς εἶναι· οὐδὲ ὅσον γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνείχεν
 3 ὕψος· καὶ ἀναπεπταμένην τινὰ εἴσοδον κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ γειτόνημα εἶχεν, ἀμηγέπη ἐπι-
 4 ψαύοντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ ῥοθίου. ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἀνέστησε μὲν αὐτὸν ἐς ὕψος, μὴ ὅτι ἀλῶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι ἀμήχανον.
 5 ἐπεξαγαγὼν δὲ καὶ πανταχόσε φραξάμενος ἀνάλω-
 6 τον Αἶνον παντάπασι κατεστήσατο. καὶ ταύτῃ μὲν ἡ πόλις ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγεγόνει· ἔμεινε δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἡ χώρα καταθεῖν εὐπετῆς· ἐπεὶ Ῥοδόπη ὀχυρωμάτων ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὑπεσπάνιζεν.
 7 ἦν δέ τις κώμη ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ, Βέλλουρος ὄνομα, πλούτου μὲν δυνάμει καὶ πολυανθρωπία ἴσα καὶ πόλις, τῷ μέντοι τειχέρης οὐδαμῇ εἶναι ληϊζομένοις διηνεκὲς ἐπαρκούσα βαρβάροις, ἀγροῖς τε τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὴν κειμένοις πολλοῖς γε οὔσι ταῦτὸ
 8 πᾶσχουσα. καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος πολίξει τε καὶ ἀποτειχίζει, καὶ αὐτοῦ¹ ἐπαξίαν
 9 τίθεται εἶναι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥοδόπης πόλεων ὅσα δὴ ἐνδεῖν ἢ καταπεπονηκέναι ξυνηνέχθη τῷ χρόνῳ σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ ἀνέστησεν.
 10 ἐν αἷς Τραϊανούπολις τε καὶ Μαξιμιανούπολις

Thus he ensured the safety of the inhabitants of the Chersonese from every side.

xi. Beyond the Chersonese stands the city of Aenus,¹ which bears the name of its founder; for he was Aeneas, as they say, son of Anchises. The circuit-wall of this place was easy to capture not only because of its lowness, since it did not rise even to the necessary height, but because it offered an exposed approach on the side toward the sea, whose waters actually touched it in places. But the Emperor Justinian raised it to such a height that it could not even be assailed, much less be captured. And by extending the wall and closing the gaps on every side he rendered Aenus altogether impregnable. Thus the city was made safe; and yet the district remained easy for the barbarians to overrun, since Rhodopê² from ancient times had been lacking in fortifications. And there was a certain village in the interior, Vellurus by name, which in wealth and population ranked as a city, but because it had no walls at all it constantly lay open to the plundering barbarians, a fate which was shared by the many fields lying about it. Our Emperor made this a city and provided it with a wall and made it worthy of himself. He also took great pains to put in order all such parts of the other cities in Rhodopê as had come to be defective or had suffered with time. Among these were Trajanopolis³ and Maximianopolis,

¹ Modern Enos, near the mouth of the Hebrus.

² A district in western Thrace.

³ Near the mouth of the Hebrus River.

¹ *αὔτοῦ* Dewing: *αὐτοῦ* MSS., editors.

- εἰσιν,¹ ὥνπερ ἐπηνώρθωσε τὰ ἐν τοῖς προβόλοις²
 σαθρὰ γεγονότα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πεποιήται.
- 11 Ἀναστασιούπολις δὲ ἡ τῇδε οὔσα τειχέρης μὲν
 B 304 καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ἐν δὲ τῇ παραλίᾳ κειμένη
 ἀφύλακτον εἶχε τὴν ταύτην ἡῖονα. τὰ πλοῖα
 πολλάκις ἀμέλει ἐνταῦθα καταίροντα ὑποχείρια
 βαρβάροις Οὐννοῖς ἐξαπιναίως γεγένηται· ὥστε
 καὶ τὰς νήσους ἐνθένδε τὰς τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπικειμένας
 12 ἠνώχλησαν. Ἰουστινιανὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς διατειχίσ-
 ματι τὴν παραλίαν περιβαλὼν ὅλην, ταῖς τε
 ναυσὶ καὶ τοῖς νησιώταις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώσατο.
 13 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τοῦ ὕδατος ὄχετον ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν
 αὐτῇ ἀνέχει μέχρι ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐς³ ὑπέρογκον
 14 ἀνέστησεν ὕψος. ἔστι δέ τις ἐν Ῥοδόπῃ πόλις
 ἀρχαία, Τόπερος ὄνομα, ἡ ποταμοῦ μὲν ρεῖθρα
 περιβάλλεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, λόφον δὲ
 αὐτῇ ἐпанεστηκότα ὄρθιον εἶχεν. ἀφ'⁴ οὗ δὴ οὐ
 πολλῶ ἔμπροσθεν Σκλαβηνοῖς βαρβάροις ἐάλω.
 15 ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς μέγα τῷ περιβόλῳ
 ὕψος ἐντέθεικεν· ὥστε ὑπεραίρει τοσούτῳ τὸν
 λόφον, ὅσῳ δὴ αὐτοῦ καταδεέστερος τὰ πρότερα
 16 ἦν. καὶ στοὰν μὲν ἐпанέστησεν ἐν θολωτῷ
 P 91 τείχει, ὅθεν δὴ τοῖς τειχομαχοῦσιν οἱ τῆς πόλεως
 ἀμυνόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς διαμάχονται, τῶν δὲ
 πύργων ἕκαστον φρούριον ἐρυμνὸν ἐσκευάσατο εἶναι.
 17 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ περιβόλου μέχρι ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν
 διατειχίσματι περιβαλὼν ἐκρατύνατο. ταῦτα μὲν
 οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῇδε πεποιήται.
- 18 Καὶ ὅσα δὲ αὐτῷ ὀχυρώματα εἵργασται ἀμφί

¹ εἰσιν Maltretus: ἔστιν V.

² προβόλοις: Haury would prefer περιβόλοις.

where he restored the parts of the bastions which had become weak. Thus were these things done.

The city of Anastasiopolis in this region was indeed walled even before this, but it lay along the shore and the beach was unprotected. Consequently the boats putting in there often fell suddenly into the hands of the barbarian Huns, who by means of them also harassed the islands lying off the coast there. But the Emperor Justinian walled in the whole sea-front by means of a connecting wall and thus restored safety both for the ships and for the islanders. Furthermore, he raised the aqueduct to an imposing height all the way from the mountains which rise here as far as the city. And there is a certain ancient town in Rhodopê, Tôperus¹ by name, which is surrounded for the most part by the stream of a river, but had a steep hill rising above it. As a result of this it had been captured by the barbarian Sclaveni not long before. But the Emperor Justinian added a great deal to the height of the wall, so that it now overtops the hill by as much as it previously fell below its crest. And he set a colonnaded portico with a vaulted roof on its wall, and from this the defenders of the city fight in safety against those attacking the wall; and he equipped each one of the towers so as to be a strong fort. He also secured the interval between the circuit-wall and the river by shutting it off with a cross-wall. These things, then, were done by the Emperor Justinian as I have said.

And I shall describe all the fortresses which were

¹ On the Via Egnatia; once also called Rhousion.

³ ἐς added by Haury.

⁴ ἀφ' Braun: ὑφ'.

- τε τὴν ἄλλην Θράκην καὶ τὴν νῦν καλουμένην
 19 Αἰμίμοντον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. πρῶτα μὲν Φιλιπ-
 πουπόλεως τε καὶ Βεροίας, ἔτι μέντοι Ἀδριανου-
 πόλεως τε καὶ Πλωτινουπόλεως τὰ τε ἐνδέοντα
 καὶ καταπεπονηκότα σπουδῇ τῇ πάσῃ ὥκο-
 δομήσατο· ἐπεὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιμαχωτάτας ξυνέβαινεν
 εἶναι, καίπερ ἔθνεσι γειτονούσας βαρβάρων πολλοῖς.
 20 καὶ φρούρια δὲ ἀνάριθμα ἐπὶ Θράκης ἰδρύσατο
 πάσης, δι' ὧν τὴν χώραν, ἀποκειμένην¹ τὰ
 B 305 πρότερα ταῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιδρομαῖς, παντά-
 πασιν τανῦν ἀδήωτον κατεστήσατο. ἔστι² δὲ
 τὰ φρούρια, ὅσα ἡμᾶς μεμνήσθαι αὐτῶν, πρὸς
 ὄνομα τάδε.³

Ἐν Εὐρώπῃ·

In Europe :

Λυδικαί.

Lydicae

Ἐλαῖαι.

Elaeae

Ἐν Ῥοδόπῃ τὰ καινούρ-
 για·

In Rhodopê, new :

Κασεήρα.

Caseëra

Θεοδωρούπολις.

Theodoropolis

Τὸ τοῦ Θράσου.

Thrasou

Σουδανέλ.

Sudanel

Μούνδεπα.

Mundepa

Θαρσάνδαλα.

Tharsandala

¹ ἀποκειμένην V : ὑποκειμένην corrector in V.

² ἔστι V : ἔτι A.

³ Here the MSS. except A have: Ὅσα φρούρια ὁ θεϊότατος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἔκτισεν ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Εὐρώπῃ καὶ Ῥοδόπῃ καὶ Θράκῃ καὶ Αἰμιμόντῳ οὕτως. Haury and editors omit.

made by him through the rest of Thrace and through what is now called Haemimontum.¹ First of all he built with great pains those parts which were lacking, and those which had suffered, in Philippopolis² and Beroea,³ and also at Adrianopolis⁴ and Plotinopolis,⁵ (for these happened to be very vulnerable), though they lay close to many tribes of barbarians. And in all parts of Thrace he established countless fortresses, by which he has now made entirely free from devastation a land which formerly lay exposed to the inroads of the enemy. These fortresses, so far as I recall them, are as follows :

Δένιζος.	Denizus
Τόπαρον.	Toparum
Δαλάταρβα.	Dalatarba
Βρέ.	Bre
Κουσκάβιρι.	Cuscabiri
Κούσκουλις.	Cusculis

Θράκης	Of Thrace :
Βόσπαρα.	Bospara
Βεσούπαρον. ⁶	Besuparum
Καπιστούρια.	Capisturia
Βηρίπαρα.	Beripara
Ἰσγίπερα.	Isgipera
Ὀζόρμη.	Ozormê

¹ A region in northern Thrace, named from Mt. Haemus, now the Balkan range.

² Modern Philippopoli

³ Modern Stara Zagora.

^a Modern Adrianople.

⁵ On the Hebrus River.

⁶ Bessapara *Itin. Ant.* 136, 3.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Βηρηῖαρος.	Bereiärus
Ταμονβαρί.	Tamonbari
Σκέμνας.	Scemnas
Καράσθυρα.	Carasthyra
Πίνζος.	Pinzus
Τουλεοῦς.	Tuleûs
Ἀρζον.	Arzum
Καστράζαρβα. ¹	Castrazarba
Ζωσίτερσον.	Zositersum
Βέργισον.	Bergisum
Δίγγιον.	Dingium
Σάκισσος.	Sacissus
Κουρτουξοῦρα.	Curtuxura
Ποταμουκάστελλον.	Potamûcastellum
Εἰσδίκαια.	Eisdicaea
Τὸ ἐμπόριον Ταυρο- κεφάλων.	The trading-port of the Taurocephali
Βηλαῖδίπαρα.	Belaïdipara
Σκίτακες.	Scitaces
Βέπαρα.	Bepara
Πουσινόν.	Pusinum
B 306 Ὑμανπάρουβρι.	Hymauparubri
Σκαριωτασαλούκρα.	Scariotasalucra
Αὐγούστας.	Augustas
Οὐρδαοὺς.	Urdaûs
Τοῦ ἁγίου Τραϊανοῦ.	St. Trajan's
Δέρταλλος.	Dertallus
Σολβανοῦ.	Solbanû
Βάσκον.	Bascum
Ζίγκυρο.	Zincyro

¹ *Itin. Ant.* 231. 5.

BUILDINGS IV. xi.

Αἰμιμόντου.	Of Haemimontum :
Ζημάρκου.	Zemarcû
Κηριπάρων.	Ceriparon
Κασιβόνων.	Casibonon
Τὸ Οὔκου.	Ucû
Ἀντωνίων.	Antonum
Γεσιλαφοσσᾶτον.	Gesilafossatum
Χεροῖνον.	Cheroenum
Προβίνου.	Probinû
P 92 Τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου.	St. Theodore's
Βουρδέπτω. ¹	Burdepto
Ῥακούλη.	Raculê
P 92 Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰουλιανοῦ.	St. Julian's
Τζίταετοῦς.	Tzitaëtûs
Βηλαστύρας.	Belastyras
Γετρίνας.	Getrinas
Βρέδας.	Bredas
Βῆρος.	Verus
Θωκύωδης.	Thocyodis
Βία.	Via
Ἀναγογκλί.	Anagoncli
Σούρας.	Suras
Αὐθιπάρου.	Authiparû
Δορδᾶς.	Dordas
Σαρμαθών.	Sarmathon
Κλεισοῦρα.	Clisura
Ὑλασιάναι.	Hylasianaë
Θρασαρίχου.	Thrasarichû
Βαῖκα.	Baeca
Χρῦσανθος.	Chrysanthus

¹ Burdipta *Itin. Ant.* 137. 2.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

Μαρκέρωτα.	Marcerota
Ζδεβρήν.	Zdebrên
Τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου.	St. Theodore's
Ἀσγαρζος.	Asgarzus
Βουρτουόγιζ. ¹	Burtudgiz
Ταυρόκωμον.	Taurocomum
Νίκη.	Nicê
Καβοτούμβα.	Cabotumba
Δείξας.	Deixas
Γητριστάους. ²	Getristaus
Δέβρη.	Debrê
Προβίνου.	Probinû
Κάρβερος.	Carberus
Τηεσιμόντη.	Teësimontê
Ἀσγίζους.	Asgizûs
Δαλάταρβα.	Dalatarba
B 307 Θεοδωρούπολις.	Theodoropolis
Τζυειδών.	Tzyeidon
Τζονπολέγων.	Tzonpolegon
Βασίβουνον.	Basibunum
Ἀγχίαλος.	Anchialus
Μαρκιανόν.	Marcianum
Κυρίδανα.	Cyridana
Βεκούλι.	Beculi

Τὰ Θρακῶν λειπόμενα. The remaining Thracian
 Παρά τε τὸν Εὐξείνων fortresses; also those
 πόντον καὶ ποταμὸν along the Euxine Sea

¹ Burtudizo *Itin. Ant.* 230. 4.

² Or Γητριστάοι MSS.

BUILDINGS IV. xi.

"Ιστρον, κὰν τῇ μεσο- and the Ister River, and
γείᾳ, οὕτως in the interior, as follows :

Μυσίας παρὰ μὲν ποτα- μὸν "Ιστρον	In Mysia, ² on the Ister River :
Ἐρκούλεντε.	Erculente
Σκατρίνα.	Scatrina
Ἀππίαρα.	Appiara
Ἐξεντάπριστα.	Exentaprista
Δεονίανα.	Deoniana
Λιμῶ.	Limô
Ὀδυσσός. ¹	Odyssus ³
Βίδιγισ.	Vidigis
Ἀρῖνα.	Arina
Νικόπολις.	Nicopolis
Ζικίδεβα.	Zicideba
Σπίβυρος.	Spibyrus
Πόλις Κάστελλον.	The city Castellum
Κιστίδιζος.	Cistidizus
Βαστέρνας.	Basternas
Μέταλλος.	Metallus
Βηρίπαρα.	Beripara
Σπαθιζός.	Spathizus
Μαρκέρωτα.	Marcerota
Βόδας.	Bodas
Ζισνούδεβα.	Zisnudeba
Τουρούλης.	Turulês
Ἰουστινιανούπολις.	Justinianopolis
Θερμά.	Therma

¹ Odisso, *Itin. Ant.* 228. 3.

² Moesia.

³ Or Odêssus ; modern Varna.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

	Γεμελλομοῦντες.	Gemellomontes
	Ἀσίλβα.	Asilba
	Κούσκαυρι.	Cuscauri
	Κούσκουλι.	Cusculi
	Φοσσᾶτον.	Fossatum
	Βισδίνα.	Bisdina
	Μαρκιανούπολις. ¹	Marcianopolis ³
	Σκυθίας.	Scythias
	Γραψώ.	Grapsô
	Νονώ.	Nonô
	Τροσμής.	Trosmês ⁴
	Νεαῖοδουνώ.	Neaïodunô
	Ῥεσιδίνα.	Residina
	Κωνσταντιανά.	Constantiana
	Καλλάτις.	Callatis ⁵
	Βασσίδινα.	Bassidina
B 308	Βελεδίνα.	Beledina
	Ἀβριττος. ²	Abrittus
	Ῥουβούστα.	Rubusta
	Δινισκάρτα.	Diniscarta
	Μοντερεγῖνε.	Monteregine
	Βέκισ.	Becis
P 93	Ἀλτῖνα.	Altina ⁶
	Μανροβάλλε.	Manroballe
	Τίγρα.	Tigra

¹ Cf. *Itin. Ant.* 228. 4.

² Cf. Müller, *F.G.H.* III. 674.16.

³ A short distance inland from Odyssus.

⁴ On the lower Danube.

⁵ Modern Collati, midway between Odyssus and Tomis.

⁶ Haury conjectures that this is identical with Ἀλτηνῶν ἔρυμα, *supra* IV. vii. 9.

BUILDINGS IV. xi.

Σκεδεβά.	Scedeba
Νόβας.	Novas
Ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσογείᾳ	In the interior:
Κοπούστορος.	Copustorus
Βιργινασώ.	Birginasô
Τιλλιτώ.	Tillitô
Ἀγκυριανά.	Ancyriana
Μουριδεβά.	Murideba
Ἴτζης.	Itzês
Καστελλόνοβο.	Castellonovo
Παδισάρα.	Padisara
Βισμαφά	Bismapha
Βαλεντινιάνα.	Valentiniana
Ζάλδαπα.	Zaldapa
Ἀξίοπα	Axiopa
Καρσώ. ¹	Carsô
Γρατίανα.	Gratiana
Πρέϊδης.	Preïdis
Ἀργαμώ.	Argamô
Παυλίμανδρα.	Paulimandra
Τζάσκλις.	Tzasclis
Πούλχρα Θεοδώρα.	Pulchra Theodora
Τόμις.	Tomis ²
Κρέας.	Creas
Κατασσοῦ.	Catassû
Νίσκονις.	Nisconis
Νοβεΐουστινιανά.	Novejustiniana
Πρεσιδίω.	Presidiô
Ἐργαμία.	Ergamia

¹ Cf. *Itin. Ant.* 224. 4.

² Tomi, the place of Ovid's banishment.

B 309

ΛΟΓΟΣ Ε΄

P 94

α'. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐν πάσῃ Εὐρώπῃ δεδημιουργημένα Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅσον οἶόν τε ἦν ἐν τῷ ἔμπροσθεν λόγῳ ἐρρήθη. ἐς δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας

2 τὰ λειπόμενα ἰτέον ἡμῖν. ὅσα μὲν οὖν πόλεων τε καὶ φρουρίων ἐρύματα, ἐτέρας τε οἰκοδομίας κατὰ τὴν ἐῷαν πεποιήται χώραν, ἐξ ὁρίων τῶν Μηδικῶν

P 95

ἄχρι που ἐς Παλμύραν πόλιν, ἣ ἐν Φοίνιξι τοῖς ἐπὶ Λιβάνου τυγχάνει οὔσα, ἥδη μοι ἔμπροσθεν

3 δεδηλωσθαι οἶμαι. ἐν δέ γε τῷ παρόντι καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἀσίαν καὶ Λιβύην αὐτῷ εἵργασται ἢ τειχιζομένῳ ἢ τὰ ¹ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπανορθοῦντι δυσπάρिता καὶ κινδύνων ἀτεχνῶς ἔμπλεα (πῇ μὲν ὁρῶν ἐπικειμένων κρημνώδη ὄντα, πῇ δὲ ποταμοῦ γειτονήματι τοὺς παραπίπτοντας ἀποπνίγοντα), ἢ πόλεων ἰωμένῳ παθήματα πάντα, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι ἀρχόμενος ἐνθένδε.

B 310

4 Χῶρόν τινα πρὸ τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως ἐν ὀρθίῳ κείμενον ξυνέβαινεν εἶναι, λοφώδη οὐ γεώδη ² οὐδὲ δυνατόν ἀφείναι καρπούς, εἴ τις πειρῶτο, ἀλλὰ
5 σκληρόν τε καὶ τραχὺν ὅλως. ἐνταῦθα νεῶν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἀποστόλῳ ἀνέθηκαν, θεολόγος δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ κλησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος οὗτος ὠνόμασται, ἐπεὶ τά γε ἀμφὶ τῷ θεῷ ἄμεινον αὐτῷ ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου δεδιήγηται
6 φύσιν. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεῶν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς βραχύν τε ὄντα καὶ καταπεπονηκότα τῷ μήκει τοῦ

¹ ἢ τὰ Capps: τὰ V, ἢ A.

² λοφώδη οὐ γεώδη Capps, cf. V. vi. 2: οὐ γήλοφον.

¹ I.e. in the province of Phoenicē Libanensis.

BOOK V

i. THE buildings erected by the Emperor Justinian in all Europe have been recorded, as far as possible, in the preceding Book. We must now go on to the remaining parts of Asia. All the fortifications of cities and the fortresses, as well as the other buildings which he erected throughout the East, from the boundary of Persia as far as the city of Palmyra, which chances to be in Phoenicia by Lebanon¹—these, I think, have been sufficiently described by me above.² So at present I shall tell also of all that was done by him in the rest of Asia and in Libya, either in fortifying, or in repairing the roads where they were difficult to travel and wholly beset with dangers (sometimes, because mountains towered above them, where they were too steep, sometimes where, since there was a river near by, travellers were caught in it and drowned), or, finally, in repairing all the parts of cities which had become defective—all this I shall proceed to tell, beginning at this point.

There chanced to be a certain place before the city of Ephesus, lying on a steep slope hilly and bare of soil and incapable of producing crops, even should one attempt to cultivate them, but altogether hard and rough. On that site the natives had set up a church in early times to the Apostle John; this Apostle has been named “the Theologian,” because the nature of God was described by him in a manner beyond the unaided power of man. This church, which was small and in a ruined condition because of its great age, the Emperor Justinian tore

² Books II, III.

χρόνου καθελών ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐς τοσόνδε μεθηρμό-
 σατο μεγέθους καὶ κάλλους, ὥστε δῆ, ξυνελόντα
 εἰπεῖν, ἐμφερέστατος καὶ παντάπασιν ἐνάμιλλος
 τῷ ἱερῷ ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἐν πόλει τῇ βασιλίδι τοῖς
 ἀποστόλοις ἀνέθηκε πᾶσιν, ὥσπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς
 ἔμπροσθεν δεδῆλωται¹ λόγοις.

- 7 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐξείργασται τῷ βασιλεῖ
 τούτῳ. ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ σωτήριόν
 τι πόλει τε τῇ βασιλίδι καὶ τοῖς κατὰ θάλασσαν
 ἐργαζομένοις πεποιήται, ὅπερ ἐγὼ αὐτίκα δηλώσω,
 8 ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα φέρεται. ἅμφω γὰρ αἱ ἡπειροὶ
 ἀλλήλαις ὡς ἀγχοτάτῳ ἐνταῦθα ἰοῦσαι τὴν τοῦ
 πορθμοῦ ποιοῦνται ἀρχὴν ἀμφὶ Σηστόν τε καὶ
 Ἄβυδον, ἐπειδὴν τε αἱ νέες ἐνταῦθα ἴκωνται,
 ὅσαι δὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως εὐθὺ ἵενται, τῇδε
 9 ὀρμίζονται. ἀνάγεσθαι δὲ αὐταῖς ἐνθένδε ἀμήχανά
 ἐστὶν, ὅτι μὴ νότου ἐπιπνεύσαντος ἀνέμου σφίσιν.
 10 ἥνίκα οὖν ὁ σιταγωγὸς στόλος ἐκ πόλεως
 Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, εἰ μὲν ἐμπέσοι τὸ
 πνεῦμα ἐπίφορον σφίσι, δι' ὀλίγου μὲν οἱ ταύτην
 τὴν ἐργασίαν διαχειρίζοντες καταίρουσι ταῖς
 B 311 ναυσὶν ἐς τοὺς Βυζαντίους λιμένας, ἀποφορτι-
 ζόμενοι δὲ ἀπαλλάσσονται αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ἐφ'
 ᾧ δὴ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅπαντες ὥρας δευτερόν
 11 τε καὶ τρίτον διαπεραιώσονται στόλον. ὅσοις δὲ
 αὐτῶν βουλομένοις ἦ, καὶ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐμπολημά-
 12 των ἐνθένδε ἀντιφορτισάμενοι ἀναστρέφουσιν. εἰ
 μέντοι ἀπ' ἐναντίας σφίσι τὸ πνεῦμα ἐφ' Ἑλλησ-
 πόντου ἴοι, ἐνταῦθα δὴ τῷ τε σίτῳ καὶ ταῖς
 13 ναυσὶ σεσηπέναι συνέβαινε. ἅπερ ἐν προνοίᾳ
 πεποιημένος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς διαφανῶς

down to the ground and replaced by a church so large and beautiful, that, to speak briefly, it resembles very closely in all respects, and is a rival to, the shrine which he dedicated to all the Apostles in the imperial city, which I have described above.¹

This, then, was done at Ephesus by this Emperor. And on our neighbouring island of Tenedos he made provision for the welfare of the imperial city and of those who labour on the sea, which I shall describe immediately, with the following introductory observation. The sea at the Hellespont flows in a very narrow channel, since the two continents at that point approach very close to each other and form the beginning of the strait at Sestus and Abydos; and when ships which are holding a direct course for Constantinople reach that point, they cast anchor. And it is impossible for them to go further unless they have a wind blowing from the south. So when the grain fleet from Alexandria reaches that point, if the wind blows favourably for them, those having this business in charge bring their ships into the harbours of Byzantium in a short time; then, after discharging their cargoes, they depart with all speed, so that before the winter season they may complete a second or even a third voyage. And those of them who wish to do so, also take on a return cargo of merchandise from that place before they sail back. If, however, the wind blew against them at the Hellespont, it came about that both the grain and the ships had to lie there rotting. The Emperor Justinian took this situation under consideration, and made a clear demonstration

¹ I. iv. 9 ff. A plan of the Church of St. John is reproduced above, p. 47.

- ἐπιδέδεικται ὡς ἀνθρώπων ἂν ἀμήχανον οὐδὲν
γένοιτο, οὐδ' ἦν τοῖς χαλεπωτάτοις ἀνταγωνίζοιτο.
14 ἐν Τενέδῳ γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ, ἣ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἀγχιστά
P 96 ἐστι, σιτῶνα ἐπετεχνήσατο τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ
ἀποφορτίσασθαι διαρκῶς ἔχοντα, εὖρος μὲν οὐχ
ἦττον ἢ ποδῶν ἐνενήκοντα, μῆκος δὲ ποδῶν
ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων, ἐς ὕψος τε¹ ἄφατον
15 ἐπιεικῶς κατατείνοντα. οὗ δὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐξειρ-
γασμένου, ὀπηνίκα ἂν τοῦ δημοσίου σίτου
παραπομποὶ ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες ἀνέμων ἐναντιώμασι
συμποδίζοιντο, οἶδε τὸν φόρτον ἐν τῷ σιτῶνι
καταθέμενοι τούτῳ καὶ χαίρειν φράσαντες τῷ τε
βορρᾷ καὶ ζεφύρῳ πολλά, καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἀπ'
ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἴοι, ἐς πλοῦν ἕτερον
16 συσκευάζονται. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς εἰς τὰ
οἰκεῖα κομίζονται, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὀπηνίκα ἂν
τὸν ἐνθένδε ἀπόπλουν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ
γενέσθαι ξυμβαίῃ, πλοίοις ἑτέροις τὸν σῖτον ἐκ
Τενέδου διακομίζουσιν οἷς ἐπικείται ἡ τιμὴ²
αὕτη.

- β'. Ἔστι δέ τις ἐν Βιθυνοῖς πόλις, Ἑλένης
ἐπώνυμος οὖσα τῆς Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως
μητρός. ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ τὴν Ἑλένην ὠρμῆσθαί
φασι, κώμης οὐκ ἀξιολόγου τὰ πρότερα οὔσης.
2 ἥπερ τὰ τροφεῖα Κωνσταντίνος ἐκτίνων ὀνόματι
B 312 μὲν καὶ ἀξιώματι πόλεως τὸ χωρίον δεδωρήται
τοῦτο, οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲν οὐδὲ βασιλικὸν οὐδὲ μεγα-
λοπρεπὲς τῇδε πεποιήται, ἀλλὰ τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ
ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας διέμεινε τύχης, κεκόμψευται δὲ
μόνῳ τῷ πόλις κεκληῆσθαι καὶ τῇ ἐπωνυμίᾳ τῆς
3 τροφίμου Ἑλένης ἀποσεμνύνεται. ὁ δὲ καθ'
ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς, ὥσπερ τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην ἀπολογού-

that nothing could prove impossible for man, even though he have the greatest difficulties to contend with. For on the island of Tenedos, which is very close to the strait, he contrived a granary large enough to allow the whole fleet to unload, in breadth not less than ninety feet and in length two hundred and eighty feet, and rising to a very great height. And since the time when this was built by the Emperor, whenever the carriers of public grain reach that point and are impeded by adverse winds, they deposit their cargoes in this storehouse, and bidding a happy farewell to the north wind and the west, and to any other wind that might impede them there, they make ready for the next voyage. And they for their part go straightway about their business, and at a later time, when the voyage from there to Byzantium comes to be practicable, those who are assigned to this office convey the grain from Tenedos in other ships.

ii. There is a certain city in Bithynia which bears the name of Helen,¹ mother of the Emperor Constantine, for they say that Helen was born in this village, which formerly was of no consequence. But Constantine, by way of repaying the debt of her nurture, endowed this place with the name and dignity of a city. However, he has built there nothing in a style of imperial magnificence, but, though the place remained outwardly as it had been before, it will now boast merely of the title of city and pride itself in the name of its foster-child Helen. But our Emperor, as if seeking to excuse his imperial pre-

¹ Helenopolis; originally called Drepanon, now Hersek.

¹ τε Wahler: δε.

² τιμή V: σπουδή A.

- μενος τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας προπάτορος, πρῶτα
 μὲν ὕδατος ἀπορία πιεζομένην τὴν πόλιν ἰδὼν καὶ
 δίψῃ ἐπιεικῶς δεινῇ ἐχομένην, ὁχετὸν αὐτο-
 σχεδιάζει¹ θαυμάσιον οἶον, ὕδωρ τε αὐτῷ παρέχε-
 ται ἀπροσδόκητον ἰδεῖν, τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις οὐ
 πιεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ λούεσθαι ἱκανῶς ἔχον, καὶ
 ὅσα ἄλλα τρυφῶσιν ἄνθρωποι εὐπορίαν² κατακόρως
 4 ὕδατος ἔχοντες. πρὸς δὲ καὶ βαλανεῖον αὐτοῖς
 ἐν δημοσίῳ πεποιήται οὐ πρότερον ὄν, ἕτερόν τε
 ἀνωκοδομήσατο διεφθαρμένον τε καὶ εἰκὴ κείμενον
 τῷ τε σπανίζειν, ἥπέρ μοι ἐρρήθη, τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ
 5 τῷ ἀπημεληθῆσαι καταπεσὸν ἤδη. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερὰ
 καὶ βασιλεία καὶ στοὰς καὶ καταλυτήρια ταῖς
 ἀρχαῖς ἐδείματο τῇδε, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιδέδεικται
 αὐτὴν πόλιν εὐδαίμονα.
 6 Ταύτης δὲ ρεῖ τῆς πόλεως ἄγχιστα ποταμός,
 ὄνπερ ὁμωνύμως τῷ σχήματι Δράκοντα καλοῦσιν
 7 οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. περιστρέφεται γὰρ ἐλισσόμενος
 ἐφ' ἐκάτερα καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτῷ³ ἀντιπεριάγων⁴
 τὰς δίνας, σκολιῷ τε τῷ ῥοθίῳ, πῇ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ,
 P 97 πῇ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ προσιών· ὥστε ἀμέλει δια-
 βαίνειν αὐτὸν πλεῖν ἢ εἰκοσάκισ ἐπάναγκές ἐστι
 8 τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσι.⁵ πολλοῖς τε οὕτω διεφθάρθαι
 ξυνέβαινε τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐξαπιναίως παρὰ τὰ
 9 ξυνειθισμένα πλημμύροντος. πρὸς δὲ καὶ δάσος
 ἀμφιλαφές καὶ καλάμου τῇδε φυομένου μέγα τι
 χρήμα συμποδίζον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν
 B 313 ἐκβολὴν χαλεπώτερον αὐτὸν ἐσκευαροῦντο εἶναι
 10 τοῖς ἐκείνῃ χωρίοις. χρόνῳ γοῦν οὐ πολλῷ
 πρότερον, ὁμβρων οἱ ἐπιγενομένων πολλῶν,
 λιμνάζων τε καὶ κυρτούμενος καὶ σκεδαννύμενος

¹ αὐτοσχεδιάζει Haury: αὐτὸς σχεδιάζει.

decessor's want of propriety, first of all observed that the city was suffering from shortage of water and was cruelly oppressed by thirst, and so he improvised a marvellous aqueduct and provided it with an unlooked-for supply of water, sufficient for the people there not only to drink but also to use for bathing and for all the other luxuries in which men indulge who have an unstinted supply of water. Besides this he made for them a public bath which had not existed before, and he rebuilt another which was damaged and lay abandoned, and already lay in ruin because of the scarcity of water which I have mentioned and because of neglect. Nay more, he built here churches and a palace and stoas and lodgings for the magistrates, and in other respects he gave it the appearance of a prosperous city.

Close to this city flows a river which the natives call Dracon from the course which it follows. For it twists about and winds from side to side, reversing its whirling course and advancing with crooked stream, now to the right and now to the left. Consequently it is actually necessary for those visiting there to cross it more than twenty times. Thus it has come about that many have lost their lives when the river has risen in sudden flood. Furthermore, a dense wood and a great expanse of reeds which grew there used to obstruct its exit to the sea and made it more troublesome for the regions round about. Indeed, not long ago, when it had been swollen by heavy rains, it backed up and rose in flood and spread far out over

² εὐπορίαν V: εὐπορίας A.

³ αὐτῷ Dewing: αὐτῶ.

⁴ ἀντιπεριάγων A: ἀντιρεῖ ἄγων V.

⁵ ἰοῦσι A: οὔσι V.

- ἐπὶ πλείστον τῆς γῆς, ἀνήκεστα κακὰ εἴργασται.
- 11 χωρία τε γὰρ παμπληθῇ καθεῖλε προρρίζους
 τε ἀμπέλους, ἔτι μέντοι ἐλαίας τε καὶ δένδρων
 ἄλλων παντοδαπῶν ἀνάριθμα πρέμνα, πρὸς δὲ
 καὶ τὰς οἰκίας αἱ πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς πόλεως
 ἐτύγχανον οὔσαι, πάθεσί τε ἄλλοις ὑπερμεγέθεσι
- 12 τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἐπέτριψεν. οὐσπερ ἐποικτισά-
 μενος Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐπενόει¹ τοιάδε.
 τὰ μὲν ἄλση περικαθήρας καὶ τὸν κάλαμον
 ἐκτεμὼν ἅπαντα, ἐλευθέρας ποιεῖσθαι τῷ ποταμῷ
 ξυνεχώρησε τὰς ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβολάς, ὥς
 μηκέτι αὐτῷ διασκεδάννυσθαι ἐπάναγκες εἶη·
 τὰ δὲ ὄρη κατὰ μέσον ἀποτεμὼν ἃ δὴ ἀνέχει
 ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐκείνη χωρία, ἐν ταῖς πρότερον ἀποτόμοις
 καὶ κρημνώδεσι χώραις ὁδὸν ἀμαξιτὸν ἐξεργάσατο.
- 13 ταύτῃ τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν διάβασιν οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν
 ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον τοῖς ἐνταῦθα οὔσι πεποίηκεν
 εἶναι. καὶ γεφύρας δύο ἐς ἄγαν εὐρείας τῷ
 ποταμῷ τούτῳ ἐντέθεται, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀκιν-
 δύνως αὐτὸν διαβαίνουσι τὸ λοιπὸν ἅπαντες.

γ'. Οἶα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Βιθυνοῖς Νίκαιαν
 ἐξείργασται ἀγαθὰ εἰπεῖν ἄξιον. πρῶτα μὲν
 τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν, παντάπασί τε διεφθαρμένην καὶ
 τὴν χρεῖαν ὥς ἤκιστα παρεχομένην, ἀνανεωσάμενος
 ἅπασαν,² ὕδασι τὴν πόλιν κατακορῇ διεπράξατο

- 2 εἶναι. ἔπειτα δὲ ἱερά τε καὶ μοναστήρια τὰ
 3 μὲν γυναιξὶ τὰ δὲ ἀνδράσιν ἐδείματο. καὶ τὰ
 ἐκείνη βασιλεία, ἐκ μοίρας ἤδη καταπεπτωκότα
 τινός, ἀνενεώσατο σπουδῇ ἅπαντα, ἔτι μέντοι
 καὶ βαλανεῖον ἐν τῷ καταλυτηρίῳ τῶν βερεδαρίων
- 4 καλουμένων ἐκ παλαιοῦ διεφθαρμένον. ταύτης
 δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐς τὰ πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον ὥς

the land and caused irreparable damage. For it ruined many districts, uprooted vines and even olive trees and countless other trees of all sorts, trunks and all, not sparing the houses which stood outside the circuit-wall of the city and inflicting other severe losses upon the inhabitants. And feeling compassion for them, the Emperor Justinian devised the following plan. He cleared off the woods and cut all the reeds, thus allowing the river a free outlet to the sea, so that it might no longer be necessary for it to spread out. And he cut off in the middle the hills which rise there, and built a waggon-road in places which formerly were sheer and precipitous; and in this way he made the crossing of the river for the most part unnecessary for those who dwelt there. Also he placed two very broad bridges over this river, and in consequence everyone now crosses it without danger.

iii. And it is proper to tell of the benefits which he also bestowed upon Nicaea in Bithynia. First of all, he restored the entire aqueduct, which was completely ruined and was not satisfying the need, and thus he provided the city with abundant water. Then he built churches and monasteries, some for women and some for men. And the palace there, which already had in part collapsed, he carefully restored throughout; and he also restored a bath at the lodgings of the *veredarii*, as they are called,¹ which had lain in ruin for a long time. To the west of this city and very close to it a torrent is wont to

¹ Couriers of the Public Post.

¹ ἐπερόει V: ἐποίει A.

² ἀπασαν V: ξύμπασαι A.

- ἀγχοτάτω χειμάρρους ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐπισκῆπτειν
 φιλεῖ, ἄπορον ὅλως ἐργαζόμενος τὴν ταύτη ὁδόν.
 5 καὶ γέφυρα μὲν τις ἐνταῦθα πεποιήται τοῖς
 πάλαι ἀνθρώποις, ἣ προϊόντος χρόνου προσβάλ-
 λουσιν οὐδαμῇ ἐνεγκοῦσα τὴν τοῦ χειμάρρου
 ἐπιρροὴν (ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖῳ διασκευασθεῖσα
 ἐτύγχανεν) ὑπεχώρησέ τε τῷ ῥοθίῳ βιαζομένῳ
 καὶ ἀπιούσα σὺν αὐτῷ ὥχeto, οὐδὲ ἴχνος αὐτῆς
 P 98 6 ἐν τῷ χώρῳ ἀπολιπούσα, οὐ πρότερον ἦν. βασι-
 λεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς γέφυραν ἐπήξατο ἐνταῦθα
 ἑτέραν ἐς τόσον ὕψους τε καὶ εὗρους διήκουσαν,
 ὥστε δὴ αὐτῆς οὐδὲ κατὰ πολλοστημόριον τὴν
 προτέραν οὔσαν γεγονέναι δοκεῖν, ἣ τὸν χειμάρ-
 ρουν, ἡνίκα μορμύρει, κατὰ πολὺ ὑπεραίρουσα
 ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ διασώζεται τοὺς ταύτη ἰόντας.
 7 Ἐν δὲ Νικομηδεῖᾳ τὸ βαλανεῖον τὸν Ἀντωνῖνον
 ἀνεενώσατο· μοῖρα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀξιολογωτάτη
 καταπεπτῶκει, μεγέθει τοῦ ἔργου ἀπροσδόκητος
 8 ὅτι δὴ ἀνοικοδομηθήσεται γεγεννημένη. ὁ μέγας
 δὲ ποταμὸς οὗτος, ὃν περ Σάγαριν καλοῦσι νῦν,
 σφοδρῶ μὲν κατιῶν ἐς ἄγαν τῷ ρεῖθρῳ, ἐπὶ
 μέσης δὲ πεφυκῶς ἄβυσσος, εὐρυνόμενος δὲ
 θαλάσση ἴσα, διαγέγονε μὲν τά γε εἰς γέφυραν
 ἀνέπαφος πᾶσιν, ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν ἄνθρωποι,
 ἀκάτων δὲ συνδέοντες πλῆθος καὶ φορμηδὸν
 αὐτὰς ἀλλήλαις ἐναρμολογούμενοι, ἐνταῦθα διαπορθμεύ-
 εσθαι τολμῶσι πεζοί, ὥσπερ ποτὲ δέει τοῦ
 Ξέρξου τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ὁ τῶν Μήδων στρατός.
 9 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνεπικινδύνως αὐτοῖς γίνεται.
 πολλάκις γὰρ ὁμοῦ τοῖς δεσμοῖς συλλαβὼν τὰς
 ἀκάτους ἀπάσας, εἶτα τὴν διάβασιν ἀνεχαίτισε
 B 315 10 τοῖς τῇδε ἰοῦσι. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς γέφυ-
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smite almost everything, making the road there altogether impassable. A bridge had been built over it by the men of earlier times, which, as time went on, was quite unable to withstand the impact of the torrent, since it had not been properly constructed, as it chanced; and finally it yielded to the pressure of the surge and was swept away with it without leaving a trace in the spot where previously it had stood. But the Emperor Justinian planted another bridge there of such height and breadth, that the previous bridge seemed to have been only a fraction of the new one in point of size; and this bridge rises high above the torrent when it is in flood and keeps in perfect safety those passing that way.

In Nicomedia¹ he restored the bath called Antoninus, for the most important part of it had collapsed, and because of the great size of the building it had not been expected that it would be rebuilt. And that great river which they now call the Sagaris,² rushing down, as it does, with its impetuous stream and having a great depth at the centre and broadening out till it resembles a sea, had always been, since the world began, left untouched by a bridge; instead they lash together a great number of skiffs and fasten them together cross-wise, and people venture to cross these on foot, as once the Persian host, through fear of Xerxes,³ crossed the Hellespont. But even this is not without danger for them, for many a time the river has seized and carried away all the skiffs, together with their cables, and thus put a stop to the crossing of travellers. But the Emperor Justinian has now under-

¹ Modern Ishmid.

² *I.e.* Sangarius; modern Sakaria.

³ Cf. Herodotus VII. 56.

- ραν αὐτῷ ἐγκεχείρηκεν ἐποικοδομεῖσθαι τανῦν.
 ἀρξάμενός τε τοῦ ἔργου ἤδη¹ πολλὴν ἐς αὐτὸ
 διατριβὴν ἔχει· ὅπερ εὖ οἶδα ὅτι² ὑποτελέσει οὐ
 πολλῷ ὕστερον, τεκμηριούμενος ὅτι δὴ αὐτῷ τὰ
 11 ἔργα συνεπιλαμβάνεται ὁ θεὸς ἅπαντα. οὐκοῦν
 ἀπέραντον αὐτῷ ἐνθύμημα οὐδὲν ἔμεινεν ἐς τόδε
 τοῦ χρόνου, καίτοι ἐπὶ πλείστοις τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς
 τοῖς ἀμηχάνοις ἐγχειρεῖν ἔδοξεν.
 12 Ἔστι δέ τις ἐν Βιθυνοῖς ὁδὸς ἐς τὰ Φρυγῶν
 ἦθη ἐνθένδε ἰόντι, ἔνθα δὴ ἀνθρώποις τε ἀναρίθμοις
 καὶ ζώοις ἐτέροις³ χειμῶνος ὥρα διολωλέναι
 13 ξυνέβαινε· γεώδης γὰρ ὑπεράγαν ἡ χώρα οὔσα,
 μὴ ὅτι ὄμβρων ἐξαισίων καταρραγέντων ἢ χιόνων
 πολλῶν ἐπικεχυμένων τε καὶ διαλυθεισῶν ἐν
 ἐσχάτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψεκάδων ἐπιπεπτωκυῶν, ἃν
 οὕτω τύχη, ἐς τέλος βαθὺ καὶ ἀπόρευτον ξυνιστα-
 μένη, τὰς τε ὁδοὺς τεναγώδεις ἐργαζομένη, τοὺς
 14 τῇδε ἰόντας ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀπέπνιγεν. ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸς τε μεγαλοφροσύνη ψυχῆς καὶ ἡ
 βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα τὸν κίνδυνον τοῖς παριούσι
 15 διέλυσαν. ἐς ἡμέρας γὰρ ὁδοῦ ἡμισυ εὐζώνῳ
 ἀνδρὶ λίθοις παμμεγέθεσι σκέπας τῇ λεωφόρῳ
 ἀπεργασάμενοι ἐπὶ στερρᾷ τῆς ὁδοῦ παριέναι
 διεσκευάσαντο τοὺς τῇδε ἰόντας. ταῦτα μὲν
 Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται.
 16 Πηγαὶ δὲ θερμῶν φύσει ἐν Βιθυνοῖς ὑδάτων
 ἀναβλυστάνουσιν ἐν χώρῳ ὅνπερ ἐπονομάζουσι
 17 Πύθια. ταύτας⁴ ἔχουσι παραψυχὴν ἄλλοι τε

¹ ἤδη V: om. A

² ὅτι V: om. A.

³ ἐτέροις V: om. A.

⁴ ταύτας A: ταύτην V.

taken the project of building a bridge over the river. Having already begun the task, he is now much occupied with it; and I know well that he will complete it not long hence, finding my assurance in this—that God coöperates with him in all his labours.¹ Indeed it is for this reason that no project of his has failed of fulfilment up to the present time, though in the beginning he has seemed in many cases to be undertaking impossible things.

There is a certain road in Bithynia leading from there into the Phrygian territory, on which it frequently happened that countless men and beasts too perished in the winter season. The soil of this region is exceedingly deep; and not only after unusual deluges of rain or the final melting of very heavy snows, but even after occasional showers it turns into a deep and impassable marsh, making the roads quagmires, with the result that travellers on that road were frequently drowned. But he himself and the Empress Theodora, by their wise generosity, removed this danger for wayfarers. They laid a covering of very large stones over this highway for a distance of one half a day's journey for an unencumbered traveller² and so brought it about that travellers on that road could get through on the hard pavement. These things, then, were done by the Emperor Justinian in this way.

A natural spring of hot water bubbles up in Bithynia, at a place known as Pythia.³ This spring is used as a cure by many and particularly by the

¹ This work was done in A.D. 559-60; see the Introduction, p. ix, and an inscription published by H. Grégoire in *Byzantion*, iv., 1927-8, pp. 465-468.

² About ten miles.

³ Modern Yalova.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

πολλοὶ καὶ διαφερόντως Βυζάντιοι, ἄλλως τε
 18 ὅσοις νοσῶδεςι συμβαίνει εἶναι. ἔνθα δὲ πολυ-
 τέλειαν ἐπιδέδεικται βασιλεῖ πρόπονσαν· βασιλεία
 τε γὰρ ὠκοδομήσατο οὐ πρότερον ὄντα καὶ λου-
 P 99 19 τρώνα ἐν δημοσίῳ τῶν ἐκεῖ φυομένων θερμῶν
 B 316 ὑδάτων πεποιήται. πηγὰς τε ποτίμων ὑδάτων
 ὥς ἐκαστάτῳ¹ ἀποβλυσούσας ἐς τόνδε τὸν χῶρον
 ὀχεταγωγία διακομίσας, τὸν πρότερον ἐνταῦθα
 20 ἐπιχωριάζοντα περιεῖλεν αὐχμὸν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ
 ἀρχαγγέλου τὸ τέμενος καὶ τὸ τῶν νοσούντων
 ἀναπαυστήριον, μείζω τε καὶ κατὰ πολὺ ἐπιφανέ-
 στερα κατεστήσατο.

δ'. Ἔστι δὲ ποταμὸς ἐν Γαλάταις, ὃνπερ καλοῦσιν
 οἱ ἐπιχώριοι Σίβεριν, τῶν μὲν καλουμένων
 Συκεῶν ἄγχιστα, πόλεως δὲ Ἰουλιουπόλεως ἀπὸ
 σημείων μάλιστα δέκα ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα
 2 ἥλιον. ὃς δὲ πολλάκις ἐξαπιναίως ἀρθεὶς ἐπὶ
 μέγα τῶν ἐκείνῃ ὁδῷ ἰόντων πολλοὺς ἐφθειρεν.
 3 οἷσπερ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπαγγελλομένοις συνταραχθεὶς
 διακωλυτῆς τοῦ κακοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν γέγονε, τὸν
 μὲν ποταμὸν γεφυρώσας ἔργῳ ἰσχυρῷ καὶ οἷῳ
 πλημμύροντι ποταμῷ μάχεσθαι, ἕτερον δὲ τοῖχον
 ἐν προβόλου σχήματι τῆς γεφύρας ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἑὸν
 πεποιημένος· ὃν δὲ πρόμαχον² καλοῦσιν οἱ
 4 ταῦτα σοφοί. καὶ νεῶν δὲ αὐτῆς ὠκοδομήσατο
 ἐς τὰ πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον τοῖς παριούσι σωτήριον
 5 χεῖμῶνος ὥρα ἐσόμενον. ταύτης δὲ Ἰουλιου-
 πόλεως³ τὸν περίβολον ἠνώχλει τε καὶ κατέσειε

¹ ἐκαστάτῳ V: ἐκάστῳ A.

² πρόμαχον V: πρόβολον A.

³ ταύτης δὲ Ἰουλιουπόλεως V: τῆς δὲ ἡλιουπόλεως A.

people of Byzantium, especially those who chance to be afflicted by disease. There indeed he displayed a prodigality befitting an Emperor. He built a palace which had not been there before, and made a public bath supplied by the hot water which rises there. And by means of an aqueduct he conveyed to this place springs of drinking-water which gush forth at a very great distance, and thus abated the lack of sweet water which previously had prevailed there. In addition to this, he enlarged and made much more notable both the Church of the Archangel and the infirmary for the sick.

iv. There is a river in Galatia which the natives call Siberis, close to the place called Syceae, about ten miles from Juliopolis¹ toward the east. This river often rose suddenly to a great height and caused the death of many of those travelling that way. The Emperor was disturbed when these things were reported to him, and he put a stop to the evil thenceforth by bridging the river with a strong structure capable of resisting the stream when in flood, and by adding another wall in the form of a jetty on the eastward side of the bridge; such a thing is called a *promachon* or breakwater by those skilled in these matters.² He also built a church to the west of the bridge to be a refuge for travellers in the winter season. As to this Juliopolis, its circuit-wall used to be disturbed and weakened by a river which

¹ Originally called Gordiucomê; the river is probably the Hierus.

² This structure was evidently a starling added to the pier to reduce the currents and eddies created by the presence of the pier which would wash the bed of the stream and endanger the foundations.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ποταμός, ἀμφὶ τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν παραρρέων.
6 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸν διεκώλυσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος,
ἀντιτείχισμα τῷ περιβόλῳ ἐπὶ πόδας οὐχ ἦσσαν
ἢ πεντακοσίους καταστησάμενος. ταύτῃ τε τὸ
τῆς πόλεως ἔρυμα οὐκέτι ἐπικλυζόμενον διεσώ-
σατο.

7 Ἐν δὲ Καππαδόκαις ἐποίει τάδε. Καισάρεια
μὲν πόλις ἐνταῦθα μεγίστη τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος
ἐκ παλαιοῦ τυγχάνει οὔσα. τείχος δὲ αὐτὴν
περιέβαλλε τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς ἀμετρίας ἐπιμα-
8 χιώτατόν τε ὄν καὶ ἀφύλακτον ὅλως. χώρας τε
B 317 γὰρ οὐ τι ἀναγκαίης τῇ πόλει περιεβάλλετο μέγα
τι χρῆμα, καὶ τῇ ἐς ἄγαν περιουσία τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύ-
9 ουσιν εὐέφοδον ἦν. λόφοι γὰρ ἐνταῦθα ἐпанεστή-
κασιν ὑψηλοί, οὐκ ἄγχιστά πη ἀλλήλων, ἀλλὰ
κατὰ πολὺ ἄποθεν· οὐσπερ ὁ τῆς πόλεως οἰκιστῆς
ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου καταλαβεῖν ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων,
ὥς μὴ ἐπιτείχισμα κατ' αὐτῆς εἶεν, τῷ τῆς
ἀσφαλείας ὀνόματι τὰ σφαλερώτατα ἐξεργάσατο.
10 πεδία τε γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κήπους ἐτειχίσατο, καὶ
11 σκοπέλους τε καὶ θρεμμάτων νομάς. ἔνθα δὲ
οὐδὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον οἰκοδομήσασθαι τι οἱ τῇδε
ἄνθρωποι ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὔπερ ἦν σχήματος
12 ἔμεινεν. εἰ δέ που καὶ οἰκία τετύχηκεν εἶναι,
ταῦτα δὲ ¹ ἀγείτονα κατὰ μόνας ὄντα διαγεγόνασιν
13 ἐς τὸδε τοῦ χρόνου. καὶ οὔτε τὰ φυλακτήρια
κατὰ λόγον τοῦ περιβόλου ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξί.νεῖσθαι
P 100 φυλακὴν εἶχεν, οὔτε αὐτοῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοσοῦδε
ὄντος ἐν δυνάμει ἐγίνετο τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις.
ἀτειχιστοὶ τε δοκοῦντες εἶναι περίφοβοι διηνεκὲς
14 ἦσαν. ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς τὰ μὲν οὐκ

¹ δὴ Haury : δέ.

flows along its western side. This Emperor, however, put a stop to that, by setting up a wall flanking the circuit-wall for a distance of not less than five hundred feet, and in this way he preserved the defences of the city, which were no longer deluged by the stream.

In Cappadocia he did the following. The city of Caesarea¹ there has been from ancient times very large and populous. But it was surrounded by a wall which, by reason of its immoderate extent, was very easy to attack and altogether impossible to defend. For it embraced a great expanse of land which was not at all necessary to the city, and by reason of its excessive size it was easily assailable by an attacking force. High hills rise there, not standing very close together, but far apart. These the founder of the city was anxious to enclose within the circuit-wall so that they might not be a threat against the city; and in the name of safety he did a thing which was fraught with danger. For he enclosed within the walls many open fields and gardens as well as rocky cliffs and pasture-lands for flocks. However, even at a later time the inhabitants of the place decided not to build anything in this area, but it remained exactly as it had been. Even such houses as did chance to be in this district have continued to be isolated and solitary up to the present day. And neither could the garrison maintain a proper defence in keeping with the extent of the wall, nor was it possible for the inhabitants to keep it in repair, seeing that it was so large. And because they seemed to be unprotected, they were in constant terror. But the Emperor Justinian tore down the unneces-

¹ Originally Mazica, near Mt. Argæus.

ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ περιβόλου περιελών, τὴν δὲ πόλιν
ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐρύματι ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς περιστείλας,
ὀχύρωμα μὲν κατεστήσατο ἀμαχώτατον εἴ τις
προσίοι, διαρκεῖ δὲ αὐτὸ φυλακτηρίῳ ἐπέρρωσε.
Καισαρεῦσι μὲν οὖν τοῖς ἐν Καππαδόκαις οὕτω τὴν
ἀσφάλειαν διεσώσατο.

- 15 Ἦν δέ τι φρούριον ἐν Καππαδόκαις Μωκησὸς
ὄνομα, ἐν μὲν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ κείμενον, σαθρὸν δὲ
οὕτω γεγενημένον ὥστε δὴ αὐτοῦ τὰ μὲν κατα-
16 πεπτώκει, τὰ δὲ ἔμελλεν. ὅπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς
βασιλεὺς καθελὼν τείχος ὠκοδομήσατο κομιδῇ
μέγα ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν τοῦ πάλαι φρουρίου ἐν
χωρίῳ ἀνάντει τε καὶ λίαν ὀρθίῳ καὶ ἀμυχάνῳ
17 προσελθεῖν, εἴ τις προσίοι. ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἱερὰ
B 318 τεμένη πολλὰ καὶ ξενῶνας καὶ λουτρῶνας ἐν
δημοσίῳ ἐδείματο καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐνδείκνυται
18 πόλιν εὐδαίμονα. ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ εἰς μητροπόλεως
ἀξίωμα ἦλθεν· οὕτω γὰρ πόλιν τὴν πρώτην τοῦ
ἔθνους καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Καπ-
παδόκαις τοιαῦτα ἐγεγόνει.

ε'. Ἐκ πόλεως δὲ Ἀντιοχείας, ἣ νῦν Θεοῦπολις
ἐπικέκληται, ἐς Κιλικίαν ἰόντι παρ' αὐτὴν
μάλιστα τὴν ὁδὸν προάστειόν ἐστι, Πλατανῶν
ὄνομα· ταύτης δὴ τῆς πόλεως οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν
τρίβος τε ἦν ἐκ παλαιοῦ σφιγγομένη ἐκ τῶν
παρατεταμένων ὁρῶν ἐν στενῷ μάλιστα, ὁμβρων
δὲ αὐτὴν ἐς χρόνου μῆκος ἐπικλυσάντων ἐξίτηλος
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον γεγενημένη μετὰ κινδύνων
τὰς διεξόδους παρείχετο ποιεῖσθαι τοῖς τῇδε
2 ἰοῦσιν. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀκοῇ

¹ It became the capital of Cappadocia Tertia.

sary portions of the circuit-wall and surrounded the city with a wall which was truly safe, and made defences which would be thoroughly impregnable in case of attack; and then he made the place strong by the addition of a sufficient garrison. Thus did he guarantee the safety of the inhabitants of Caesarea in Cappadocia.

There was a certain fortress in Cappadocia, Moecus by name, situated on level ground, but it had sunk into such a state of disrepair that part of it had fallen down and the rest was on the point of doing so. All this the Emperor Justinian pulled down, and he built a very strong wall to the west of the old fortress, on a site which lay above a very steep slope and was quite inaccessible if anyone should try to attack it. There too he built many churches and hospices and public baths and all the other structures that are the mark of a prosperous city. Consequently it rose even to the rank of a metropolis,¹ for thus the Romans call the leading city of a province. These things, then, were done in Cappadocia.

v. As one goes from the city of Antioch, which is now called Theopolis, into Cilicia, there is a suburb lying very close to the road, Platanôn by name;² and not far from this city lay a path which had long been compressed into a very narrow track by the overhanging mountains; and after being washed by rains for a long time it was destroyed for the most part and afforded only dangerous passage to travellers. When the Emperor Justinian heard of this, he

² This place is mentioned also by Theophanes, A.M. 6004, I, p. 156, 15 De Boor. Procopius evidently refers to work done in the Beilan Pass, though this is so far from Antioch that Platanôn could not properly be called a suburb of the city.

- ἔλαβεν, ἐν βουλῇ τε καὶ προνοίᾳ πάσῃ πεποιημένος,
 3 ἄκεσιν εὐθὺς τοῦ κακοῦ εὔρετο. χρήματα γὰρ
 προέμενος ἀριθμοῦ κρείττονα, ὄρη τε τὰ ἐκείνῃ
 ἀνέχοντα ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐκτεμὼν ἅπαντα καὶ
 νενικηκῶς τὰ ἀμήχανα, ὁδὸν ἀμαξήλατον ἐκ τοῦ
 παραλόγου καὶ τοῦ παραδόξου καὶ τὰ¹ πρόσθεν
 ἀπόκρημνα ἔν τε τῷ ὑπτίῳ καὶ τῷ ἀνειμένῳ
 διεσκευάσατο, διαφανῶς ἐνδειξάμενος ὡς γνώμῃ
 προμηθεὶ καὶ χρημάτων ὑπερορώσῃ οὐδὲν ἀνθρώπῳ
 ἄπορον γένοιτο. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται.
 4 Πόλις δέ πού ἐστιν ἐν Κίλιξιν ἢ Μοψουεστία,
 τοῦ μάντεως, ὡς φασιν, ἐκείνου τοῦ παλαιοῦ
 P 101 ἔργον. ταύτην ποταμὸς παραρρεῖ Πύραμος, τῇ
 μὲν πόλει γινόμενος ἐγκαλλώπισμα, γεφύρα δὲ
 5 μόνῃ διαβατὸς ὤν. χρόνου δὲ πολλοῦ ἐπιρρεῦ-
 σαντος πεπονηκέναι τῆς γεφύρας τὰ πλείστα
 ξυνέβη. ἐώκει τε πεσουμένοις αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα,
 καὶ τοῖς διαβαίνουσι διὰ τοῦτα ὁ θάνατος ἐν
 B 319 6 ὀφθαλμοῖς ἦν. πρᾶγμά τε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἐπινε-
 νοημένον τοῖς πάλαι ἀνθρώποις, τῇ τῶν προεστη-
 κόντων ὀλιγωρία ἐγίνετο κινδύνου τε πολλοῦ καὶ
 7 φόβου αἰτία. ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς τὰ
 διερρηκότα ἐπανορθώσας σπουδῇ ἅπαντα τῇ τε
 γεφύρα καὶ τοῖς παριούσι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνεσώ-
 σατο, τὴν τε πόλιν ἀπέδειξεν αὐθις τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
 ποταμοῦ ἀκινδύνως ἀναδουμένην εὐπρέπειαν.
 8 Ἔστι δέ τις μετ' αὐτὴν Ἀδανα πόλις, ἥς δὴ
 ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ποταμὸς φέρεται

¹ καὶ τὰ V : κατὰ A. -

¹ Mopsus, who made an oracle at Mallus; the city lies near modern Missis.

took the matter under careful consideration and straightway found a remedy for the trouble. He spent a sum of money past reckoning, cutting through, for a great distance, all the mountains which rose there to a great height and overcoming impossible obstacles; and he constructed a waggon-road, contrary to all reason and expectation, making flat and open ground of what had previously been broken by precipices, thereby clearly demonstrating that nothing could prove impossible for a man of discerning judgment who was ready to disregard expense. This, then, was done as I have said.

There is in Cilicia a certain city called Mopsuestia, said to be the work of that ancient seer.¹ Alongside this flows the Pyramus River, which, while it adds beauty to the city, can be crossed only by a bridge. But as much time passed it came about that the greater part of the bridge had suffered; indeed it seemed to be on the point of falling at any moment and for this reason death faced those who crossed it. Thus a structure which was devised by the men of former times for the preservation of life came, by reason of the negligence of the authorities, to be a source of great danger and a thing to be feared. But our Emperor with great care set right all the damaged parts and once more restored the safety of the bridge and of those who crossed it, and caused the city to plume itself² again, and without risk, on the river's beauty.

Beyond it there is a certain city named Adana,³ on the eastern side of which the Sarus⁴ River flows,

² Literally "bind its brow," as with a wreath.

³ Also its modern name.

⁴ The Sagrus, now called Sangro.

- Σάρος ὄνομα, ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις ὄρων κατιών.
 9 ναυσίπορος δὲ ὁ Σάρος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι πεζοῖς
 οὐδαμῇ ἐσβατός. γέφυρα οὖν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῇδε
 ὑπερφυῆς τε ἀποτετόρνευται καὶ λόγου ἀξία.
 10 γεγένηται δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. λίθων μὲν εὐμεγέ-
 θων οἰκοδομαίαι πολλαχῇ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκ τῆς γῆς
 ἐπανεστήκασιν ἐς μέγα τι πάχος διήκουσαι, καὶ
 τῷ ποταμῷ κατὰ μὲν τὸ εὖρος ξυνεξικνούμεναι,
 τὸ δέ γε ὕψος πολλῷ ὑπερβάλλουσαι τῷ ὑπερ-
 11 αῖρουντι. ὑπερθέν τε δυοῖν¹ κατὰ μέσον ἀψίδες ἐν
 τῷ μετεώρῳ ἐπηρμέναι ἀνέχουσιν ὕψους ἐς μέγα
 τι χρῆμα. ταύτης δὲ τῆς τῶν λίθων ξυνθήκης, ἥ
 κατὰ τὸ ὕδωρ οὔσα ἐτύγχανεν, ἅτε ῥοθίῳ μα-
 12 ὄσον διεφθάρθαι τὰ πλεῖστα ξυνέβη. οὐκ εἰς
 μακράν τε ἢ γέφυρα πᾶσα τῷ ποταμῷ ἐμπεσεῖ-
 σθαι ἐπίδοξος ἦν. ἐγίνετό τε αἰεὶ ἐν εὐχῇ τῶν
 διαβαινόντων ἐκάστω ἐν τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν διαβάσει
 τὴν τοῦ χρόνου στιγμήν διαμεῖναι μόνον ἐν τῷ
 13 βεβαίῳ τὴν γέφυραν. ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστι-
 νιανὸς ἑτέραν τινὰ τῷ ποταμῷ πορείαν ὀρύξας,
 ἐκεῖσε μὲν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ καιροῦ μεταπορεύεσθαι
 διωθήσατο, ὕδατος δὲ χωρὶς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν
 λαβών, ἥσπερ ἐπεμνήσθην ἀρτίως, καὶ αὐτῆς τὰ
 B 320 πεπονθότα περιελὼν ἀνωκοδομήσατο οὐδεμιᾷ μελ-
 λήσει, τὸν τε ποταμὸν αὖθις ἐς τὴν πρόσθεν ὁδὸν
 ἐπανήγαγεν, ἣν κοίτην καλοῦσι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν
 τῇδε κεχώρηκε.
 14 Κύνδος δὲ ποταμὸς κατὰ πόλιν μέσσην Ταρσὸν
 φέρεται. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τὸν ἄλλον οὐδὲν ἄχαρι
 διαπεπραγμένος φαίνεται πώποτε, ἅπαξ δὲ αὐτῷ
 ξυνήνεχθη ποτὲ τὰ ἀνήκεστα διεργάσασθαι ἐξ
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coming down from the mountains of Armenia. The Sarus is navigable and quite impossible for men on foot to ford. So in ancient times an enormous and very notable bridge was constructed here. It was built in the following fashion. At many points in the river piers of massive blocks of stone were reared upon its bed, built to a great thickness and forming a line extending across the entire width of the stream and in height rising far above high water. Above each pair of piers spring arches which rise to a great height, spanning the open space between them. The portion of this masonry which chanced to be below the water and so was constantly battered by its powerful current had, in a space of time beyond reckoning, come to be mostly destroyed. So the whole bridge appeared likely after no long time to fall into the river. It had come to be always the prayer of each man who crossed the bridge that it might remain firm if only during the moment of his crossing. But the Emperor Justinian dug another channel for the river and forced it to change its course temporarily; and then getting the masonry which I have just mentioned free from the water and removing the damaged portions, he rebuilt them without any delay and then returned the river to its former path, which they call the "bed." Thus then were these things done.

At Tarsus, the Cydnus River flows through the middle of the city. It appears that in general it had caused no damage at any time, but on one occasion it chanced that it did cause irreparable loss, for the

¹ δυοῖν Dindorf: δυεῖν.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 15 αἰτίας τοιαύδε. τοῦ μὲν καιροῦ ἀμφὶ τροπὰς
 ἑαρινὰς ἦν¹ νότος δὲ ἄνεμος ἑξαπιναίως ἐπιπνεύ-
 σας πολὺς τὰς χιόνας διέλυσε πάσας, αἷς δὲ
 χειμῶνος ὥρα ἐπιπεσούσαις τὸ ὄρος ὃ Ταῦρος
- 16 ἐκεκάλυπτο σχεδόν τι ὅλον. ῥύακες οὖν ὑδάτων
 πανταχόθεν ξυνέρρεον τῶν ἐκείνῃ σκοπέλων, αἷ τε
 χαράδραι χειμάρρους ἀφίεσαν πᾶσαι, καὶ κρήναις
 πολλαῖς αἷ τε ὑπώρειαι καὶ οἱ πρόποδες ὀρώων τῶν
- 17 Ταυρείων κατάρρυντοι ἦσαν. τούτοις οὖν ὁ Κύνδος
 τοῖς ὕδασι κυματίας γεγενημένος, ἐπεὶ ἐς αὐτὸν
 ἐν γειτόνων ὄντα ἐπεσέβαλλον,² ἅμα δὲ οἱ καὶ
 ὄμβρων ἐπιγενομένων πολλῶν, τὰ μὲν Ταρσέων
 προάστεια πάντα, ὅσα πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμ-
 μένα ἐτύγγανε, κατακλύσας εὐθὺς ἐξίτηλα τὸ
 παράπαν ἐποίει· ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ μορμύρων ἦει
 καὶ τὰς γεφύρας βραχείας οὔσας περιελὼν τὰς τε
 ἀγορὰς συνεῖχεν ἀπάσας τὰς τε ἀγνίᾳς ὑπερέβλυζε
 καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις καὶ ὑπερώοις ἐπιπολάζων ἐπὶ
- 18 μέγα ἐχώρει. νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν ἡ πόλις ὅλη
 ἐν κινδύνῳ διαγέγονε καὶ σάλῳ τοιούτῳ, καὶ μόλις
 ἐν ὑστάτῳ ὃ ποταμὸς οὗτος κατὰ βραχὺ ἀπολωφῆ-
- 19 σας ἐν τοῖς εἰωθόσι γέγονεν αὐθις. ἅπερ ἐπεὶ
 βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσεν, ἐπενόει τοιαύδε.
 πρῶτα μὲν ἑτέραν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως διεσκευάσατο
 τῷ ποταμῷ κοίτην, ὅπως ἐνταῦθα διασχιζόμενος
- B 321 ἐκατέρωθί τε μερίζων τὸν ῥοῦν κατὰ ἡμισυ
 20 γεγωνὸς μάλιστα ἐπὶ Ταρσὸν ἴοι. ἔπειτα δὲ τὰς
 γεφύρας παρὰ πολὺ εὐρυτέρας πεποιημένος κρείσ-
 σους ἀπειργάσατο εἶναι ἢ πλημμύροντι βιασθῆναι

¹ ἦν ἡ ὥρα A.

² ἐπεσέβαλλον V: ἐσέβαλλον A.

following reason.¹ It was about the time of the spring equinox, and a strong south wind which arose suddenly had melted all the snow which had fallen through the winter season, blanketing practically the whole Taurus range. Consequently streams of water were pouring down from the heights everywhere and each of the ravines discharged a torrent, and both the summits and the foothills of the Taurus mountains were deluged. So by reason of this water the Cydnus rose in flood, for the streams kept pouring their water into it, since it was close to the mountains, and it was further swollen by heavy rains which fell at the same time; consequently the river flooded and immediately wiped out completely all the suburbs which were situated to the south of the city. Then it went roaring against the city itself, and tearing out the bridges, which were small, it covered all the market-places, flooded the streets, and wrought havoc by entering the houses and rising even to their upper storeys. Night and day the whole city continued in this critical and uncertain situation, and it was only tardily and at length that the river subsided little by little and returned once more to its accustomed level. When the Emperor Justinian learned of this, he devised the following plan. First he prepared another bed for the river above the city, in order that the stream might be separated there into two parts and might divide its volume so that only about half of it should flow toward Tarsus. Then he made the bridges very much broader and so strong that the Cydnus in flood could not sweep them away.

¹ This flood is mentioned in the *Secret History*, xviii 40.

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τῷ Κύνῳ. ταύτῃ τε διεπράξατο φόβου καὶ κινδύνου ἐκτὸς ἐς πάντα τὸν χρόνον οἰκεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν.

- ς'. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Κίλιξιν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχεν. ἐν δὲ Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκεν, ὥπερ ἄλλο εἰκασθῆναι οὐδὲν
 2 οἶόν τέ ἐστι. νέαν ἐκκλησίαν καλοῦσι τὸ ἱερὸν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· ὅπερ δὴ ὁποῖόν ποτέ ἐστιν, ἐγὼ δηλώσω, τοσοῦτον ὑπειπών, ὡς ἡ πόλις ἦδε λοφώδης μὲν ἐστίν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, οὐ γεώδεις δὲ οἱ λόφοι εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ἐν τε τραχεῖ καὶ ἀποκρήμνῳ ἐπανεστήκασι, τὰς ἀμφόδους ἐν κλίμακος τρόπῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρθίου ἐς τὸ πρηνὲς κατα-
 3 τείνοντες. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομήματα ἅπαντα ἐφ' ἑνὸς χωρίου συμβαίνει εἶναι, ἣ ἐπὶ λόφου πεποιημένα, ἣ ἐν τῷ χθαμαλῷ κατὰ τὸ ἀναπεπταμένον τῆς γῆς, τοῦτο δὲ μόνον
 4 τὸ ἱερὸν οὐ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔχει.¹ ἐπέστελλε γὰρ αὐτὸ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ προὔχοντι γενέσθαι τῶν λόφων, δηλώσας ὁποῖον τά τε ἄλλα δεήσει
 5 καὶ τὸ εὖρος αὐτῷ καὶ μῆκος εἶναι. οὐκ ἀπέχρησέ τε κατὰ τὴν βασιλέως ἐπίταξιν πρὸς τοῦ ἔργου τὴν χρεῖαν ὁ λόφος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ τεταρτημόριον ἀπελέλειπτο πρὸς τε ἄνεμον νότον καὶ ἀνίσχοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, ἵνα δὴ ὀργιάζειν τοῖς
 6 ἱερεῦσι θέμις. διὸ δὴ ἐπενόουν τάδε οἷς τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο ἐπέκειτο. ἀπορριψάμενοι τὰ θεμέλια εἰς γῆς τῆς ὑπτίας τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκοδόμημα
 7 πεποιήνται συνεπανεστηκὸς τῷ σκοπέλῳ. ἐπειδὴ τε ἄνω κατὰ τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν ἐγένοντο, τῶν

¹ ἔχει V : ἀνέχει A.

Thus he brought it about that the city stands forever freed from fear and from danger.

vi. Such were the works of the Emperor Justinian in Cilicia. And in Jerusalem he dedicated to the Mother of God a shrine with which no other can be compared.¹ This is called by the natives the "New Church"; and I shall explain of what sort it is, first making this observation, that this city is for the most part set upon hills; however these hills have no soil upon them, but stand with rough and very steep sides, causing the streets to run straight up and down like ladders. All the other buildings of the city chance to lie in one group, part of them built upon a hill and part upon the lower level where the earth spreads out flat; but this shrine alone forms an exception. For the Emperor Justinian gave orders that it be built on the highest of the hills, specifying what the length and breadth of the building should be, as well as the other details. However, the hill did not satisfy the requirements of the project, according to the Emperor's specifications, but a fourth part of the church, facing the south and the east, was left unsupported, that part in which the priests are wont to perform the rites. Consequently those in charge of this work hit upon the following plan. They threw the foundations out as far as the limit of the even ground, and then erected a structure which rose as high as the rock. And when they had raised this up level with

¹ While it has not been possible to identify the site of this church with certainty, traces of such a building have been found on a site between the eastern side of the Jewish quarter and the Haram which corresponds closely with that described by Procopius; see H. Vincent and F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, II (Paris, 1922), pp. 912-919.

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- τοίχων καθύπερθε θόλους ἐνθέμενοι συνάπτουσι
 τὴν οἰκοδομίαν τῷ ἄλλῳ τοῦ τεμένους ἐδάφει.
- B 322 8 ταύτῃ τε ὁ νεὺς πῇ μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρας ἰσχυρὰς
 ἰδρυται, πῇ δὲ ἡώρηται, τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως
 δυνάμεως μέγεθος ἄλλο ἐπιτεχνησαμένης τῷ
 9 λόφῳ. ταύτης δὲ δὴ τῆς οἰκοδομίας οἱ λίθοι οὐ
- P 103 10 τοιοῖδε εἰσὶ μέγεθος, ὁποίους ἴσμεν. πρὸς γὰρ
 τοῦ χωρίου τὴν φύσιν οἱ ἐπιδημιουργοὶ τοῦ ἔργου
 τοῦδε διαμαχόμενοι ὕψος τε ἀντιτεταγμένον τῷ
 σκοπέλῳ διαπονούμενοι, τῶν ξυνειθισμένων ὀλιγω-
 ρηκότες ἀπάντων ἐπὶ τὰ παράδοξα καὶ ὅλως
- 11 ἀγνώτα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐχώρουν. πέτρας
 οὖν ὑπερμεγέθεις ἐκ τῶν ὁρῶν ὑποτεμνόμενοι
 ἄπερ οὐρανομήκη ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως χωρίοις
 ἀνέχει, ξύσαντές τε αὐτὰς ἐπισταμένως, ἐνταῦθα
- 12 ἦγον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἀμάξας μὲν ταῖς πέτραις
 ἐτεκτῆναντο μεγέθει ἴσας, ἓνα δὲ λίθον ἐνετίθεντο
 ἀμάξῃ ἐκάστη, βόες τε ἀριστίνδην πρὸς βασιλέως
 ξυνειλεγμένοι¹ κατὰ τεσσαράκοντα σὺν τῇ ἀμάξῃ
- 13 τὸν λίθον ἐφείλκον. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ τὰς ἐς τὴν πόλιν
 φερούσας ὁδοὺς ταύτας δὴ φέρειν τὰς ἀμάξας
 ἀμήχανα ἦν, ἐκτέμνοντες ἐπὶ πλείστον τὰ ὄρη
 ἐσιτητὰ ταῖς ἐπιγενομέναις ἀμάξαις ἐποίουν,
 οὕτως τε περιμήκη ἀπειργάσαντο τὸν νεῶν, ἥπερ
- 14 βουλομένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἦν. εὐρὸς τε αὐτῷ κατὰ
 λόγον πεποιημένοι, τέγος ἐπιθεῖναι τῷ ἱερῷ ὡς
- 15 ἦκιστα εἶχον. δρυμούς τε οὖν καὶ δάση πάντα
 περιόντες, καὶ εἴ πού τι χωρίον ἠκούετο οὐρα-
 νομήκεσι κατάφυτον δένδροις, ὕλην τινα εὐρον
 ἀμφιλαφῇ, κέδρους φέρουσιν ἐς ὕψος ἐξικνουμέ-
 νας ἀπέραντον ὅσον, αἷς δὴ τὴν ὀροφὴν τῷ νεῷ

the rock they set vaults upon the supporting walls, and joined this substructure to the other foundation of the church. Thus the church is partly based upon living rock, and partly carried in the air by a great extension artificially added to the hill by the Emperor's power. The stones of this substructure are not of a size such as we are acquainted with, for the builders of this work, in struggling against the nature of the terrain and labouring to attain a height to match the rocky elevation, had to abandon all familiar methods and resort to practices which were strange and altogether unknown. So they cut out blocks of unusual size from the hills which rise to the sky in the region before the city, and after dressing them carefully they brought them to the site in the following manner. They built waggons to match the size of the stones, placed a single block on each of them, and had each waggon with its stone drawn by forty oxen which had been selected by the Emperor for their strength. But since it was impossible for the roads leading to the city to accommodate these waggons, they cut into the hills for a very great distance, and made them passable for the waggons as they came along there, and thus they completed the length of the church in accordance with the Emperor's wish. However, when they made the width in due proportion, they found themselves quite unable to set a roof upon the building. So they searched through all the woods and forests and every place where they had heard that very tall trees grew, and found a certain dense forest which produced cedars of extraordinary height, and by means of these they

¹ ξυνειλεγμένοι V: ἐξειλεγμένοι A.

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ἔθεντο, ὕψος αὐτῷ κατὰ μέτρον πεποιημένοι, ἐς ὅσον τε εὐρύνεται καὶ ἐς τὸ μῆκος ἐξάγεται.

- B 323 16 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δυνάμει τε ἀνθρωπεῖα καὶ τέχνῃ βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἐξεργάσατο. ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐλπίς ἀμειβομένη αὐτὸν τῇ τιμῇ, καὶ ξυνεπιλαμβάνουσα τὸ σπούδασμα
- 17 τοῦτο. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἱερῷ πανταχόσε κιόνων ἔδει τό τε εἶδος οὐκ ἀποδεόντων τοῦ ἀμφὶ τὸ τέμενος κάλλους καὶ τοιούτων τὸ μέγεθος οἷοι δὴ ὄντες ἀντέχειν ἐς τὸ ἄχθος τῶν ἐγκειμένων
- 18 σφίσιν ἔμελλον. ἡ δὲ χώρα ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ κειμένη τῆς θαλάσσης πολλῷ ἄποθεν, ὅρεσί τε πανταχόθεν ἀποπεφραγμένη ἀποτόμοις τισίν, ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἄπορον τοῖς τεκταινομένοις τὸ ἔδαφος ἐποίει κίονας ἐτέρωθεν εἰσκομίζεσθαι.
- 19 ἀλλὰ βασιλέως δυσφορουμένου τῇ τοῦ ἔργου ἀμηχανία, λίθου φύσιν ὁ θεὸς ἐπιτηδείως ἐς τοῦτο ἔχουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀγχιστα ὅρεσιν ἔδειξεν, ἣ οὐσάν τε καὶ κρυπτομένην τὰ πρότερα, ἣ νῦν γενομένην.
- 20 ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα δὲ πιστὸς ὁ λόγος τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ¹
- 21 τὸν θεὸν ἀναφέρουσιν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀνθρωπεῖα δυνάμει πάντα σταθμώμενοι πολλὰ ἐς τὸ ἀδύνατον ἀποκεκρίσθαι οἰόμεθα, τῷ δὲ θεῷ τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἂν ἄπορον οὔτ' ἀμήχανον γένοιτο.
- 22 κιόνων τοίνυν ἐνθένδε μέγα τι χρῆμα ὑπερμεγεθῶν τε καὶ ἀπομιμουμένων τῷ χρώματι πυρός τινα φλόγα, πανταχόθεν ὑποστηρίζουσι τὸν νεῶν, οἱ μὲν ἔνερθεν, οἱ δὲ ὑπερθεν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὰς στοὰς αἱ περιβάλλουσι τὸ ἱερὸν ὅλον, πλὴν τῆς πρὸς ἑω τετραμμένης πλευρᾶς· ὥνπερ δύο ἐστᾶσι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ νεῶ θύρας ὑπερφυεῖς ἄγαν καὶ τῶν ἐν γῇ
- P 104 23 τῇ πάσῃ κιόνων ἴσως οὐδενὸς δεῦτεροι. στοὰ

put the roof upon the church, making its height in due proportion to the width and length of the building.

These things the Emperor Justinian accomplished by human strength and skill. But he was also assisted by his pious faith, which rewarded him with the honour he received and aided him in this cherished plan. For the church required throughout columns whose appearance would not fall short of the beauty of the building and of such a size that they could resist the weight of the load which would rest upon them. But the site itself, being inland very far from the sea and walled about on all sides by quite steep hills, as I have said, made it impossible for those who were preparing the foundations to bring columns from outside. But when the impossibility of this task was causing the Emperor to become impatient, God revealed a natural supply of stone perfectly suited to this purpose in the near by hills, one which had either lain there in concealment previously, or was created at that moment. Either explanation is credible to those who trace the cause of it to God; for while we, in estimating all things by the scale of man's power, consider many things to be wholly impossible, for God nothing in the whole world can be difficult or impossible. So the church is supported on all sides by a great number of huge columns from that place, which in colour resemble flames of fire, some standing below and some above and others in the stoas which surround the whole church except on the side facing the east. Two of these columns stand before the door of the church, exceptionally large and probably second to no column in the whole world. Here is added another

¹ ἐπὶ V: ἐς A.

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- τις ἐκδέχεται ἐντεῦθεν ἑτέρα ἐπὶ τοῦ νάρθηκος
 24 ὀνομασμένη, οἶμαι, τῷ μὴ εὐρύνεσθαι. αὐλή
 μετὰ ταύτην κίουσιν ὁμοίοις ἐν τετραπλεύρῳ
 ἀνεχομένη· θύραι μέταυλοι ἱεροπρεπεῖς οὕτως,
 ὥστε μηνύουσι τοῖς ἔξω ἰοῦσιν ὁποῖω ποτὲ
 θεάματι ἐντυχεῖν μέλλουσι. προπύλαια¹ τὸ
 ἐνθένδε θαυμάσια οἶα, καὶ τις ἐπὶ κιόνων δυοῖν²
 25 ἐπαιρομένη ἀψὶς ἐς ἄφατον ὕψος. προϊόντι δὲ
 πρόσω ἡμίκυκλα δύο, ἀλλήλοις ἀντιπρόσωπα
 ἐκατέρωθεν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὁδοῦ ἐστᾶσι· ξενῶνες
 δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας ἐφ' ἐκάτερα δύο, Ἰουστινιανοῦ
 βασιλέως ἔργον· ἄτερος μὲν ξένοις ἐνδημοῦσι
 καταλυτήριον, ὃ δὲ δὴ ἕτερος ἀναπαυστήριον
 26 νοσοῦσι πτωχοῖς. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τῆς θεοτόκου
 νεῶν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ προσόδῳ ἐτίμησε
 χρημάτων μεγάλων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις
 Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ πεπραγμένα³ ταύτῃ πη ἔσχεν.
 ζ'. Ἔστι δὲ πόλις ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης, Νεάπολις
 ὄνομα· ἐφ' ἧς δὴ ὄρος ὑψηλὸν ἀνέχει, Γαριζὶν
 2 ὄνομα. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οἱ
 Σαμαρεῖται εἶχον· ὡς εὐξόμενοί τε ἀνέβαινον ἐς
 τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολήν, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρόν·
 οὐχ ὅτι νεῶν τινα ἐνταῦθα ὠκοδομήσαντο πώποτε,
 ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν αὐτὴν σεβόμενοι ἐτεθήπεσαν
 3 πάντων μάλιστα. ἡνίκα δὲ Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ
 παῖς ἐν σώματι ὦν τοῖς τῇδε ἀνθρώποις ὠμίλει,

¹ After προπύλαια Maltretus added δέ.

² δυοῖν Haury : δυεῖν.

³ πεπραγμένα added by Hoeschel.

colonnaded stoa which is called the narthex, I suppose because it is not broad.¹ Beyond this is a court with similar columns standing on the four sides. From this there lead doors to the interior (*metauloi thyrai*) which are so stately that they proclaim to those walking outside what kind of sight they will meet within. Beyond there is a wonderful gateway (*propylaia*) and an arch (*apsis*), carried on two columns, which rises to a very great height. Then as one advances there are two semi-circles (*hemikykla*) which stand facing each other on one side of the road which leads to the church, while facing each other on the other side are two hospices, built by the Emperor Justinian. One of these is destined for the shelter of visiting strangers, while the other is an infirmary for poor persons suffering from diseases. And the Emperor Justinian endowed this Church of the Mother of God with the income from a large sum of money. Such were the activities of the Emperor Justinian in Jerusalem.

vii. In Palestine there is a city named Neapolis,² above which rises a high mountain, called Garizin. This mountain the Samaritans originally held; and they had been wont to go up to the summit of the mountain to pray on all occasions, not because they had ever built any temple there, but because they worshipped the summit itself with the greatest reverence. But when Jesus, the Son of God, was in the body and went among the

¹ Cf. above, I. iv. 7 and note.

² Modern Nablous.

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γέγονεν αὐτῷ πρὸς γυναῖκα τῶν τινα ἐπιχωρίων
 διάλογος· ταύτῃ τε ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει πυνθανομένη
 ὑπεῖπεν ὡς χρόνῳ ὕστερον οὐχ οἱ Σαμαρεῖται
 προσκυνήσουσιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ὄρει, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα
 αὐτὸν οἱ ἀληθινοὶ προσκυνηταὶ προσκυνήσουσι,
 τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς παραδηλώσας· ἐγένετό τε

4 προΐόντος τοῦ χρόνου ἔργον ἢ πρόρρησις. οὐ
 γὰρ οἶόν τε ἦν μὴ οὐχὶ ἀψευδεῖν τὸν ὄντα¹ θεόν.

5 ἐγένετο δὲ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος βασιλεύον-

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τος ἀθρόοι ἐξαπιναίως οἱ Σαμαρεῖται γενόμενοι
 ἐπεισηδῶσιν ἐν Νεαπόλει τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἐν τῇ
 ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν Πεντηκοστὴν καλουμένην ἑορτὴν
 ἄγουσι, καὶ αὐτῶν τε πολλοὺς διαχρῶνται, καὶ
 ὅσπερ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπος τότε, Τερεβίνθιος

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ὄνομα, καταλαβόντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐστῶτα
 τραπέζης, καὶ ἱεουργοῦντα τὰ ἄρρητα ξίφεσι
 παίοντες, ἄλλως τε συγκόπτουσι καὶ τοὺς τῶν
 χειρῶν ἀφαιροῦνται δακτύλους, ἕς τε τὰ μυστήρια
 ὕβρισαν, ὡς δρᾶσαι μὲν Σαμαρείταις προσήκει,

6 σιωπᾶν δὲ ἡμῖν. ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς οὗτος αὐτίκα ἐν
 Βυζαντίῳ γενόμενος, τῷ τότε βασιλεῖ ἐς ὅσιν
 ἦκων, ἐπέδειξέ τε τὸ πάθος καὶ τὰ ξυνεχθέντα
 σημάνας καὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς προρρήσεως
 ὑπομνήσας, τιμωρὸν αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἅπασιν ἐδεῖτο

7 γενέσθαι. Ζήνων δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ξυμπεπτωκόσι
 ξυνταραχθεῖς, κόλασίν τε ἀποχρῶντως ἐς τοὺς τὰ
 δεινὰ δεδρακότας πεποιήται οὐδεμιᾷ ὀκνήσει· ἕκ
 τε ὅρους τοῦ Γαριζὶν τοὺς Σαμαρεῖτας ἐξελάσας,
 εὐθὺς Χριστιανοῖς τε αὐτὸ παραδίδωσιν, ἐκκλησίαν

¹ ὄντα V: ὄντως A.

¹ Gospel of John, IV.

people there, He had a conversation with a certain woman who was a native of the place.¹ And when this woman questioned Him about the mountain, He replied that thereafter the Samaritans would not worship on this mountain, but that the true worshippers (referring to the Christians), would worship Him in that place; and as time went on the prediction became a fact. For it was not possible that He who was God should not utter truth. And it came about as follows. During the reign of Zeno,² the Samaritans suddenly banded together and fell upon the Christians in Neapolis in the church while they were celebrating the festival called the Pentecost, and they destroyed many of them, and they struck with their swords the man who at that time was their Bishop, Terebinthius by name, finding him standing at the holy table as he performed the mysteries; and they slashed at him and cut off the fingers from his hand; and they railed at the mysteries, as is natural for Samaritans to do, while we honour them with silence. And this priest straightway came to Byzantium and appeared before the ruling Emperor and displayed what he had suffered, setting forth what had happened and reminding the Emperor of the prophecy of Christ; and he begged him to avenge all that had been done. The Emperor Zeno was greatly disturbed by what had happened, and with no delay inflicted punishment in due measure upon those who had done the terrible thing. He drove out the Samaritans from Mt. Garizin and straightway handed it over to the Christians, and building a church

² A.D. 474-491.

τε ἄνω δειμάμενος τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκε, τειχι-
 σάμενος τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο¹ δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, τὸ δὲ
 8 ἀληθὲς ἀποτριγχώσας. καὶ φρουρὰν στρατιωτῶν
 κατεστήσατο, κάτω μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει πολλῶν, ἐν
 δὲ τῷ τειχίσματι καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ οὐ πλεόν ἢ
 9 δέκα. οἷς δὴ Σαμαρεῖται ἀχθόμενοι ἥσχαλλον
 μὲν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δυσφορούμενοι ἀπηξίου-
 ντα σφίσι παρόντα, δέει δὲ τῷ ἐκ βασιλέως
 10 δυσωπούμενοι σιωπῇ εἶχοντο. προϊόντος δὲ χρό-
 νου, Ἀναστασίου τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος,
 11 τοιόνδε τι ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι. τινὲς τῶν Σαμα-
 ρειτῶν, γυναικὸς ὑποθήκη ἀναπεισθέντες, ἀναβαί-
 νουσι μὲν παρὰ δόξαν κατὰ τὸ τοῦ ὄρους κρημνῶδες,
 ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀνόδου ἢ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐνταῦθα ἄγει
 B 326 ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς φυλασσομένης, ἐνθένδε αὐτοῖς
 12 ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς ἀναβάσεως ἀδύνατα ἦν. ἐν δὲ
 τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξαπιναιῶς γενόμενοι κτείνουσι μὲν
 τοὺς ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς, μετακαλοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἐν
 13 τῇ πόλει Σαμαρεῖτας φωνῇ ἐξαισία. οἱ δὲ τοὺς
 στρατιώτας δειμαίνοντες συνεπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς ἐγκε-
 14 χειρηκόσιν οὐδαμῇ ἤθελον. οὐ πολλῷ τε ὕστερον
 ὁ τὴν χώραν ἐπιτροπεύων (Προκόπιος δὲ ἦν ἐξ
 Ἑδέσσης πόλεως, ἀνὴρ λόγιος) τοὺς τὰ δεινὰ
 15 δεδρακότας συλλαβὼν ἔκτεινε. τοῦ μέντοι ὀχυ-
 ρώματος οὐδ' ὥς² τις λόγος ἢ πρόνοια παρὰ τοῦ
 16 βασιλέως τηνικάδε γεγένηται. ἀλλὰ νῦν Ἰου-
 στινιανὸς βασιλεὺς, καίπερ τοὺς Σαμαρεῖτας ἐκ
 τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσεβέστερον μεταθέμενος
 καὶ καταστησάμενος Χριστιανούς εἶναι, τὸ μὲν

¹ τοῦτο Maltretus: τούτω.

² οὐδ' ὥς Maltretus: οὐχ ὥς V, οὐδ' ὥς A.

on the summit he dedicated it to the Mother of God, putting a barrier, as it was made to appear, around this church, though in reality he erected only a light wall of stone. And he established a garrison of soldiers, placing a large number in the city below, but not more than ten men at the fortifications and the church. The Samaritans resented this, and chafed bitterly in their vexation and deplored their condition, but through fear of the Emperor they bore their distress in silence. But at a later time, when Anastasius¹ was holding the imperial office, the following happened. Some of the Samaritans, incited by a woman's suggestion, unexpectedly climbed the steep face of the mountain, since the path which leads up from the city was carefully guarded and it was impossible for them to attempt the ascent by that route. Entering the church suddenly, they slew the guards there and with a mighty cry summoned the Samaritans in the city. They, however, through fear of the soldiers, were by no means willing to join the attempt of the conspirators. And not long afterwards the governor of the district (he was Procopius of Edessa, a man of learning) arrested the authors of the outrage and put them to death. Yet even after that no thought was taken for the fortifications, and no provision for proper defence was made at that time by the Emperor. But during the present reign, although the Emperor Justinian has converted the Samaritans for the most part to a more pious way of life and has made them Christians, he

¹ A.D. 491-518.

- παλαιὸν τῆς ἐν τῷ Γαριζὶν ἐκκλησίας τείχισμα¹
ἐφ' οὗπερ ἦν σχήματος εἶασεν ἀποτετριγχωμένον,
ἥπερ μοι εἴρηται, ἐτέρῳ δὲ αὐτὸ ἔκτοσθεν τείχει
περιβαλὼν ἄμαχον διεπράξατο παντάπασιν εἶναι.
17 ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ πέντε Χριστιανῶν ἀνεενώσατο
πρὸς τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν καταφλεχθέντα. ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν τῇδε εἴργασται.

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ἡ'. Ἐν δὲ τῇ πάλαι μὲν Ἀραβία, νῦν δὲ
Παλαιστίνη τρίτῃ καλουμένῃ, χώρα μὲν ἔρημος
ἐπὶ μακρὸν κατατείνει, καρπῶν τε καὶ ὑδάτων καὶ
πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἄφορος. καὶ ὄρος ἀπότομόν τε
καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον ἀποκρέματα ἄγχιστά πη τῆς
Ἐρυθρᾶς καλουμένης θαλάσσης, Σινὰ ὄνομα.

2 οὐδὲν δέ μοι ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἐκείνῃ χωρίοις ἀναγράψα-
σθαι ἀναγκαῖον ἐνταῦθα τοῦ λόγου, ἐπεὶ ἅπαντά
μοι τά τε κατὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν καὶ τὸν
Ἀραβικὸν καλούμενον κόλπον,² Αἰθιοπίας τε τοὺς

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Αὐξωμίτας καὶ τὰ τῶν Ὀμηριτῶν Σαρακηνῶν
γένη ἀκριβολογουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων
δεδηλωται λόγοις· ἵνα δὴ καὶ τοῦτό μοι διδιήγηται,
ὄντινα τρόπον Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὸν Φοι-
3 νῶνα προσεποίησε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ. ταῦτα μὲν

οὖν τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα λέγειν ἀφήμι, ὥς μὴ
4 ἀπειροκαλίας ἀνενέγκοιμι δόξαν. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ
τῷ Σινᾷ ὅρει μοναχοὶ ὥκηνται, οἷς ἐστὶν ὁ βίος
ἡκριβωμένη τις μελέτη θανάτου, ἐρημίας τῆς

5 σφίσι φιλτάτης ἀδεέστερον ἀπολαύουσι. τούτοις
δὴ τοῖς μοναχοῖς Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς (ἐπεὶ οὐκ
εἶχον³ οὐδὲν ὅτου ἐφείντο, ἀλλὰ κρείσσους τῶν

¹ τείχισμα V: προτείχισμα A.

² κόλπον V: πόντον A.

³ εἶχον Hoeschel: εἶχεν.

left the old fortification around the church on Garizin in the form in which it was, that is, merely a barrier, as I have said; but by surrounding this with another wall on the outside he made the place absolutely impregnable. There too he restored five shrines of the Christians which had been burned down by the Samaritans. Thus, then, have these things been done.

viii. In what was formerly called Arabia and is now known as "Third Palestine,"¹ a barren land extends for a great distance, unwatered and producing neither crops nor any useful thing. A precipitous and terribly wild mountain, Sina² by name, rears its height close to the Red Sea, as it is called. There is no need at this point in my account to write a description of that region because everything has been set forth in the Books on the Wars,³ where I gave a full description of the Red Sea and what is called the Arabian Gulf, as well as of the Ethiopians and Auxomitae and the tribes of the Homerite Saracens. At that point I shewed also in what manner the Emperor Justinian added the Palm Groves⁴ to the Roman Empire. Therefore I omit mention of these things, that I may not acquire a reputation for bad taste. On this Mt. Sina live monks whose life is a kind of careful rehearsal of death,⁵ and they enjoy without fear the solitude which is very precious to them. Since these monks had nothing to crave—for they are superior to all

¹ Under Constantine three provinces were set up, Palaestina Prima in the centre, Secunda in the north, and Tertia in the south.

² Or Sinaï, now Jebel-et-Tur.

³ I. xix. 8.

⁴ Inhabited by the Saracens, *Wars*, *loc. cit.* and II. iii. 41.

⁵ Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 81.

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- ἀνθρωπείων ἀπάντων εἰσίν, οὐδέ τι κεκτῆσθαι
 οὐδέ θεραπεύειν τὰ σώματα, οὐ μέντοι οὐδέ ἄλλου
 ὅτουοῦν ὀνίνασθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχουσιν) ἐκκλησίαν
 ὠκοδομήσατο, ἣν περ τῇ θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκεν, ὅπως
 δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα ἐξῇ εὐχομένοις τε καὶ ἱερ-
 6 μένοις διαβιῶναι. ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν οὐ
 κατὰ τοῦ ὅρους ἐδείματο τὴν ὑπερβολήν, ἀλλὰ
 7 παρὰ πολὺ ἔνερθεν· ἀνθρώπῳ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἀκρωρεῖα
 διανυκτερεύειν ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἐπεὶ κτύποι τε
 διηνεκὲς καὶ ἕτερα ἅττα θειότερα νύκτωρ ἀκούον-
 ται, δύνάμιν τε καὶ γνώμην τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν
 8 ἐκπλήσσουντα. ἐνταῦθά ποτε τὸν Μωσέα φασὶ
 πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς νόμους παραλαβόντα ἐξενεγ-
 9 κεῖν. ἐς δὲ τοῦ ὅρους τὸν πρόποδα καὶ φρούριον
 ἐχυρώτατον ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ὠκοδομήσατο,
 φυλακτήριόν τε στρατιωτῶν ἀξιολογώτατον κατ-
 εστήσατο, ὥς μὴ ἐνθένδε Σαρακηνοὶ βάρβαροι
 ἔχοιεν ἅτε τῆς χώρας ἐρήμου οὔσης, ἥ περ μοι
 εἴρηται, ἐσβάλλειν ὥς λαθραιότατα ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ
 Παλαιστίνης χωρία.
 10 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε πεποιήται. ὅσα δὲ καὶ
 τοῖς μοναστηρίοις πεποιήται τοῖς τῇδε τε καὶ¹
 κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἐώαν οὔσιν, αὐτίκα δὴ μοι ὥς ἐν
 κεφαλαίῳ γεγράφεται.
 θ'. Μοναστήρια μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἀνενεώ-
 σατο τάδε.
- 1 τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Θαλελαίου.
 - 2 τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου.
 - 3 τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῦ
 Ἰορδάνου.
 - 4 ξενῶνα ἐν Ἱεριχῶ.

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human desires and have no interest in possessing anything or in caring for their bodies, nor do they seek pleasure in any other thing whatever—the Emperor Justinian built them a church which he dedicated to the Mother of God, so that they might be enabled to pass their lives therein praying and holding services. He built this church, not on the mountain's summit, but much lower down. For it is impossible for a man to pass the night on the summit, since constant crashes of thunder and other terrifying manifestations of divine power are heard at night, striking terror into man's body and soul. It was in that place, they say, that Moses received the laws from God and published them. And at the base of the mountain this Emperor built a very strong fortress and established there a considerable garrison of troops, in order that the barbarian Saracens might not be able from that region, which, as I have said, is uninhabited, to make inroads with complete secrecy into the lands of Palestine proper.

Thus, then, were these things done. All that he did in the monasteries of this region and throughout the rest of the East I shall now record in the form of a summary.

ix. These, then, were the monasteries restored in Jerusalem :

The Monastery of St. Thalelaeus.

The Monastery of St. Gregory.

Also St. Panteleēmôn's in the Desert of Jordan.

A hospice in Jerichô.

¹ καὶ added by Hoeschel.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 5 ἐκκλησίαν τῆς θεοτόκου ἐν Ἱεριχῶ.
 6 τὸ τῶν Ἰβήρων ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.
 7 τὸ τῶν Λαζῶν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Ἱεροσολύμων.
 8 τὸ τῆς ἁγίας Μαρίας ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν Ἐλαιῶν.
 9 τὸ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἐλισσαίου ἐν Ἱερο-
 σολύμοις.
 10 τὸ Σιλέθεως.
 11 τὸ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ῥωμανοῦ.
 12 ἐν Βηθλεέμ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνενέωσε.
 13 τὸ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἰωάννου ἐν Βηθλεέμ.
 14 Φρέατα δὲ ἣ δεξαμενὰς ὠκοδομήσατο οὕτως·
 15 εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Σαμονῆλ φρέαρ καὶ τεῖχος.
 16 εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ζαχαρίου φρέαρ.
 17 εἰς τὸ Σωσάννης φρέαρ.
 18 εἰς τὸ Ἀφελίου φρέαρ.
 19 εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ
 φρέαρ.
 20 εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου ἐν ὄρει καλουμένῳ
 Κισσερῶν φρέαρ.
 21 τὸ τεῖχος Τιβεριάδος.
 22 τὸ ἐν Βόστρα πτωχεῖον.
 23 Φοινίκης·
 τὸν οἶκον τῆς θεοτόκου ἐν Πορφυρεῶνι.
 24 μοναστήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Φωκᾶ ἐν ὄρει.
 25 τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἁγίου Σεργίου ἐν Πτολεμαῖδι.
 26 ἐν Δαμασκῷ οἶκον τοῦ ἁγίου Λεοντίου.
 27 ὑπὸ Ἀπάμειαν πτωχεῖον τοῦ ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ
 ἀνενεώσατο.
 28 τεῖχος τοῦ μακαρίου Μάρωνος.

A Church of the Mother of God in Jerichô.

The Monastery of the Iberians in Jerusalem.

The Monastery of the Lazi in the Desert of Jerusalem.

The Monastery of St. Mary on the Mount of Olives.

The Monastery of the Spring of St. Elissaeus in Jerusalem.

The Monastery of St. Siletheus.

The Monastery of the Abbot Romanus.

At Bethlehem he restored the wall.

The Monastery of the Abbot John in Bethlehem.

He also built wells or cisterns as follows :

at the Monastery of St. Samuel, a well and a wall ;

at that of the Abbot Zacharias, a well ;

at that of Susanna, a well ;

at that of Aphelius, a well ;

at St. John's on the Jordan, a well ;

at St. Sergius' on the mountain called Cisserôn, a well ;

the wall of Tiberias ;

the Poor-house in Bostra.

In Phoenicia, the following :

the House of the Virgin in Porphyreôn ;

the Monastery of St. Phocas on the Mount ;

the House of St. Sergius in Ptolemaïs ;

in Damascus, the House of St. Leontius ;

near Apamea,¹ he restored the Poor-house of St. Romanus ;

the wall of the Blessed Marôn ;

¹ Modern Famieh.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

29 ὑπὸ Θεούπολιν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Δάφνης ἀνενέω-
σεν.

30 ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ τὸν ἁγίου Ἰωάννου ἀνενέωσε.

31 Μεσοποταμίας·

μοναστήριον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου ἀνενέωσε.
32 μοναστήρια Δέλφραχis, Ζηβίνου, Θεοδότου,

Ἰωάννου. Σαρμαθῆς, Κυρήνου, Βεγαδαίου.
33 μοναστήριον εἰς τὸ Ἀπάδνας ἐν Ἰσαυρίᾳ.

34 πόλεως Κουρίκου λουτρὸν καὶ¹ πτωχεῖον ἀν-
ενέωσε.

B 329 35 τὸ πτωχεῖον τοῦ ἁγίου Κόνωνος.

36 τὸν ἀγωγὸν αὐτοῦ ἀνενέωσεν ἐν Κύπρῳ.

37 οἶκον τοῦ ἁγίου Κοσμᾶ καὶ Δαμιανοῦ ἐν
Παμφυλίᾳ.

38 πτωχεῖον τοῦ ἁγίου Μιχαὴλ ἐν Ἐμπορίῳ ἐπὶ κλην
ἐπινείου πόλεως Πέργης τῆς Παμφυλίας.

B 330

ΛΟΓΟΣ Σ'.

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α'. Ταῦτα μὲν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ τῇδε πεποιή-
ται. ἐν δὲ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐξείργασται τάδε.
Νεῖλος ποταμὸς οὐκ ἄχρι ἐς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
φέρεται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πόλισμα ἐπιρρεύσας ὃ δὴ
Χαιρέου ἐπονομάζεται, ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τὸ λοιπὸν
2 ἵεται, ὅρια τὰ γε Ἀλεξανδρέων ἀπολιπών. διὸ

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δὴ οἱ πάλαι ἄνθρωποι, ὡς μὴ ἀμοιροῖν τὸ παράπαν
ἢ πόλις, διώρυχα ἐκ τῆς Χαιρέου κατορύξαντες
βαθεῖάν τινα βραχεῖα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς αὐτὴν
ἐκροῇ διεπράξαντο ἐσιτητὰ εἶναι. οὐδ' ἡ καὶ

¹ καὶ added by Maltretus.

BUILDINGS V. ix. 29-VI. i. 2

near Theopolis, he restored the Church of Daphnê;¹
in Laodicea, he restored St. John's.

In Mesopotamia:

he restored a Monastery of St. John; the Monasteries of Deſphrachis, Zebinus, Theodotus, John, Sarmathê, Cyrenus, Begadaeus;

A Monastery of Apadnas in Isauria;

At the city of Curicum, he restored a Bath and a Poor-house;

the Poor-house of St. Conôn;

He renewed the aqueduct of the same in Cyprus;

The House of Sts. Cosmas and Damian in Pamphylia;

The Poor-house of St. Michael in the Emporium, as it is called, of the harbour-city of Perga in Pamphylia.

BOOK VI

i. Thus were these things done by the Emperor Justinian. And at Alexandria he did the following. The Nile River does not flow all the way to Alexandria, but after flowing to the town which is named from Chaereüs, it then turns to the left, leaving aside the confines of Alexandria. Consequently the men of former times, in order that the city might not be entirely cut off from the river, dug a very deep canal from Chaereüs and thus by means of a short branch made the river accessible to it. There too, as it

¹ The famous suburb of Antioch, i.e. Theopolis; cf. *Buildings*, II. x. 2.

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- ἄλλας τινὰς¹ ἐκροὰς ἐκ λίμνης Μαρίας ἐσβάλλειν
 3 ξυμβαίνει. ἐπὶ ταύτης δὲ τῆς διώρυχος μεγάλαις
 μὲν ναυσὶ πλώϊμα οὐδαμῇ γίνεται, ἐς λέμβους
 δὲ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον σῖτον ἐκ τῆς Χαιρέου μετα-
 βιβάσαντες² οὕσπερ καλεῖν διαρήματα νενομίκασιν,
 ἐς τε τὴν πόλιν διακομίζουσιν, ἵνα δὴ ἐξικνεῖσθαι
 δυνατὰ ἔστι τῷ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ποταμῷ, καὶ
 κατατίθενται ἐν χώρῳ ὅνπερ Ἀλεξανδρεῖς καλοῦσι
 4 Φιάλην. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῷ δήμῳ ἐς στάσιν πολ-
 λάκις καθισταμένῳ ἐνταῦθα διολωλέναι τῷ σίτῳ
 ξυνέβη, βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς τειχίσματι τόνδε
 τὸν χώρον περιβαλὼν τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ σίτῳ ἐπιβουλήν
 5 ἀνεχαίτισε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ
 ταύτῃ ἐξείργασται.

Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἡμᾶς ἤγαγε τῆς
 Λιβύης ὁμόρου τανῦν ὁ λόγος, φέρε δὴ καὶ
 ὅποσα διαπέπρακται αὐτῷ ἐνταῦθα δηλώσωμεν,
 ἐπεὶ καὶ Λιβύην ξύμπασαν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος ὑπὸ
 βαρβάροις κειμένην εὐρὼν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐνήψε
 Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ.

- 6 Νεῖλος μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου
 φερόμενος δίχα τέμνει τὴν ἐκείνη γῆν ἄχρι ἐς
 θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ σχιζομένη τῷ ρεῖθρῳ καὶ
 7 ὀνόμασι διακέκριται τὸ ἐνθένδε δυοῖν.³ τὰ μὲν

¹ ἐκροῇ . . . τινας, omitted in V, supplied in its margin.

² μεταβιβάσαντες V: καταβιβάσαστες A.

³ δυοῖν A: δυεῖν V.

¹ Modern Mariut, the ancient Lacus Mareotis.

² Trans-shipment of grain in Egypt is mentioned in several papyri, which call it the διέρασις (or διαίρασις) τοῦ δημοσίου πυροῦ; in the documents in which reference is made to the vessels into which the grain was transferred, they are called

chances, are the mouths of certain streams flowing in from Lake Maria.¹ In this canal it is by no means possible for large vessels to sail, so at Chaereüs they transfer the Egyptian grain to boats which they are wont to call *diaremata*,² and thus convey it to the city, which they are enabled to reach by way of the canal-route, and they deposit it in the quarter of the city which the Alexandrians call Phialê. But since it often came about that the grain was destroyed in that place by the people rising in sedition, the Emperor Justinian surrounded this district with a wall and so prevented the damage to the grain. Thus were these things done by the Emperor Justinian.

But inasmuch as our account has now led us to Egypt, the close neighbour of Libya, let us now set forth how many things were done by him there also, since this Emperor found all Libya too lying under the power of barbarians and joined it to the remainder of the Roman Empire.

The Nile River, flowing out of India into Egypt, divides that land into two parts as far as the sea. The land, thus divided by the stream, is thenceforth designated by two separate names³: the region on

διεράματα (cf. F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie*, Leipzig, 1917, p. 130). The spelling in the present passage may be an error of the author or of a copyist. Procopius' evidence, which has not been used in connection with that of the papyri, confirms Oertel's interpretation against the belief of Preisigke (*Wörterbuch*, s.v., followed by Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Lexicon*, s.v.) that a διέραμα was a hopper for lading grain into a vessel. The references to the evidence of the papyri have been supplied by Professor H. C. Youtie.

³ In *Wars*, VIII. vi. 2, Procopius, saying that opinions differ as to the boundaries between Asia and Europe, states that some people maintain that the Nile flows between Asia and Libya.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- γὰρ ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἀσία ὠνόμασται μέχρι
 που ἐς Φᾶσιν τὸν Κόλχον, ὅσπερ Ἀσίαν τε
 διορίζει καὶ γῆν τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἥ μέχρι ἐς πορθμεῖα
 8 τὰ Κιμμέρια καὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν. τούτων γὰρ
 δὴ ἔνεκα διαμάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ταῦτα
 σοφοί, ἥπερ ἐν λόγοις μοι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων
 δεδηλωται περιηγουμένῳ τὸν Εὐξείνιον καλούμενον
 9 πόντον. τὰ δὲ δὴ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Νείλου Λιβύη
 ἐκλήθη μέχρι ἐς ὠκεανόν, ὅσπερ ἐς δύοντά που
 τὸν ἥλιον ἐκατέραν ἡπειρον διορίζει, ἐκροήν τε
 10 ἀφιεῖς τινα καὶ θάλασσαν τήνδε ποιούμενος. ἡ
 μὲν οὖν ἄλλη Λιβύη ξύμπασα ὀνόματα κατὰ
 χώραν ἐκάστην ἕτερα ἅττα διακεκλήρωται, ἐκ
 τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἐπιγενομένων, ὡς τὸ εἶκός, ἐπικληθεῖσα.
 11 ἡ μέντοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείας ὀρίων ἄχρι ἐς
 πόλιν Κυρήνην διήκουσα ἐπὶ Πενταπόλεώς ἐστιν,
 ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ μόνου τοῦ ὀνόματος Λιβύη καὶ νῦν
 B 332 12 ἐπικέκληται. ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἐστὶν ἡμέρας ὁδῷ
 Ἀλεξανδρείας διέχουσα, Ταφόσιρις ὄνομα, ἵνα δὴ
 ταφῆναι τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεὸν Ὅσιριν λέγου-
 13 σιν. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ τὰ
 τῶν ἀρχόντων καταλυτήρια καὶ λουτρῶνας ἐδείματο
 Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς.
 P 110 β'. Ταύτης δὲ τῆς Λιβύης ἔρημα μὲν τὰ πολλὰ
 τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ἀπημελημένα ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον.
 2 καὶ αὐτῆς δὲ προεγρηγορῶς ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς
 προμηθεῖ γνώμῃ, ὡς μή τι αὐτῇ παθεῖν ἐξ
 ἐπιδρομῆς πρὸς Μαυρουσίων τῶν πλησιοχώρων
 ξυμβαίῃ, ὀχυρώματά τε δύο καὶ φυλακτήρια
 κατεστήσατο, ὧν θάτερον μὲν Παρατόνιον ὀνομά-

¹ Modern Don.

² VIII. vi.

the right of the river is called Asia as far as the Colchian Phasis, which divides Asia from the continent of Europe, or even all the way to the Cimmerian Strait and the River Tanaïs.¹ In regard to this question those who are learned in these matters are in conflict with one another, as has been made clear in the Books on the Wars² in the course of my description of the sea called Euxine. And the land on the left of the Nile bears the name of Libya as far as the Ocean, which on the west marks the boundary between the two continents by sending out a certain arm³ which opens out into this sea of ours. All the rest of Libya has received several different names, each region being designated, presumably, by the name of the people who dwell there. However, the territory extending from the confines of Alexandria as far as the city of Cyrenê, comprising the Pentapolis, is now the only region which is called by the name of Libya. In that territory is a city one day's journey distant from Alexandria, Taphosiris by name, where they say that the god of the Egyptians, Osiris, was buried. In this city the Emperor Justinian built many things, and in particular the residences of the magistrates and baths.

ii. The greatest part of this land of Libya chances to have been desert, which was in general neglected. Yet our Emperor takes thought for this land also with watchful care, so that it might not have the ill fortune to suffer anything from inroads of the Moors who inhabit the adjoining country; and to this end he established there two strongholds with garrisons, one of which they call Paratonium,⁴ while the other,

³ The Strait of Gibraltar.

⁴ Also called Ammonia.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

ζουσιν, Ἀντίπυργον δὲ τὸ ἕτερον ἐπικέκληται, οὐ
 3 πόρρω Πενταπόλεως κείμενον. διέχει δὲ ἡ
 Πεντάπολις Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁδῷ ἡμερῶν εἴκοσιν
 4 εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ Πενταπόλει καὶ
 βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς Τεύχειραν τὴν πόλιν ἐρύματι
 5 ἐτειχίσατο ἐχυρωτάτῳ. καὶ Βερνίκης τὸν περί-
 βολον ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνωκοδομήσατο τῶν ἐσχάτων.
 6 οὐ δὴ καὶ βαλανεῖον πεποιήται, δημοσία παρεχό-
 7 μενον τῇ πόλει τὴν χρεῖαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς Πεν-
 ταπόλεως ἐσχατιαῖς, αἵπερ εἰσὶ τετραμμέναι πρὸς
 ἄνεμον νότον, ὀχυρώματα ἐν δυοῖν μοναστηρίον
 ἐξείργασται, οἷσπερ Ἀγριολώδη τε καὶ Δινάρθι-
 σον ὀνόματά ἐστιν· αἵπερ ἐπιτειχίσματα κεῖται
 8 τοῖς ταύτῃ βαρβάροις, τῷ μὴ καταθέοντας ὡς
 λαθραιότατα ἐπισκῆπτειν ἐξαπιναίως ἐς γῆν τὴν
 Ῥωμαίων.

9 Ἔστι δέ τις ἐνταῦθα πόλις, Πτολεμαῖς ὄνομα,
 τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν εὐδαίμων τε γεγεννημένη καὶ
 πολυάνθρωπος, προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὕδατος
 ἀπορία πολλῇ ἐς ὀλιγανθρωπίαν ἀποκριθεῖσα.
 B 333 10 τῶν γὰρ οἰκητόρων ὁ πολὺς ὄμιλος δίψει ἐχόμενοι
 πολλῷ ἔμπροσθεν ἐνθένδε ἐξαναστάντες ἀπεχώρη-
 11 σαν ὅπῃ ἐκάστῳ δυνατὰ γέγονεν. ἀλλὰ νῦν ὁ
 βασιλεὺς οὗτος ἀνανεωσάμενος τὴν ὀχεταγωγίαν
 τῇ πόλει τὸ πρότερον αὐτῇ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας
 ἀπέδωκε σχῆμα. Πενταπόλεως δὲ πόλις ἐσχάτη
 ἐστὶ πρὸς δύοντά που τὸν ἥλιον, Βόρειον ὄνομα.
 12 οὐ δὴ τὰ ὄρη συννενευκότα τε πρὸς ἄλληλα, καὶ
 τῇ ἐνθένδε στενοχωρία ξυμπεφραγμένα, τῶν ἐπὶ
 τὴν χώραν εἰσόδων ἀποκεκλείσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους
 13 διασκευάζονται. ταύτην ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν πόλιν
 ἀτειχιστον οὖσαν ἐρύματι ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν,
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which lies not far from the Pentapolis, has received the name Antipyrgum. And the Pentapolis is removed from Alexandria by a twenty days' journey for an unencumbered traveller.¹ In this region of Pentapolis the Emperor Justinian surrounded the city of Teuchira² with very strong fortifications. The circuit-wall of Bernicê³ he rebuilt from its lowest foundations. In that city he also built a bath for the use of the people. Furthermore, on the extreme boundary of the Pentapolis which faces the south, he constructed fortresses in two monasteries which bear the names Agriolodê and Dinarthisum; and these stand as bulwarks against the barbarians of that region, so that they may not come down stealthily into Roman territory and suddenly fall upon it.

There is a certain city there, Ptolemaïs⁴ by name, which in ancient times had been prosperous and populous, but as time went on it had come to be almost deserted owing to extreme scarcity of water. For the great majority of the population, driven by thirst, had moved from there long ago and gone wherever each one could. Now, however, this Emperor has restored the city's aqueduct and thus brought back to it its former measure of prosperity. The last city of Pentapolis towards the west is named Boreium.⁵ Here the mountains press close upon one another, and thus forming a barrier by their crowding, effectively close the entrance to the enemy. This city, which had been without a wall, the Emperor enclosed with very strong defences, thus making it

¹ About four hundred miles.

² Modern Tokra.

³ Or Hesperus, modern Benghazi.

⁴ On the coast of Cyrenaica, modern Tolometa.

⁵ On the coast; probably modern Tabilbê.

ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ τὸ λοιπὸν βεβαιότατα σὺν πάσῃ
τῇ ἀμφ' αὐτὴν χώρα διεπράξατο εἶναι.

14 Πόλεις δέ πού εἰσι δύο ἐπ' ὀνόματος ἑνὸς
15 ὤκημέναι· Αὐγίλα γὰρ ἑκατέρα ἐκλήθη. αὗται
τοῦ Βορείου διέχουσιν ὁδῷ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν
μάλιστα εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί, τετραμμένοι μὲν αὐτοῦ
πρὸς ἄνεμον νότον, ἀρχαῖαι δὲ οὔσαι καὶ τῶν
οἰκητόρων ἀρχαιότροπα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἔχουσαι·
θρησκείαν γὰρ πάντες καὶ εἰς ἐμέ τὴν τῆς πολυ-

16 θεΐας ἐνόσουν. ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ τε
Ἄμμωνι καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Μακεδόνι ἀνέκειτο

P 111 17 ἔδη. οἷς δὴ καὶ ἐσφαγιάζοντο μέχρι ἐς τὴν

18 Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλείαν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ
ὄμιλος αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱεροδούλων καλουμένων πολὺς.
νῦν δὲ δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος οὐχ ὅσον ἐς τὰ σώματα
τοῖς κατηκόοις ἐκποριζόμενος τὴν ἀσφάλειαν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς διασώσασθαι ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ
ποιούμενος, καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ ὤκημένων ἀνθρώπων

19 κατὰ πάντα προὔνοιε τρόπον. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα
διαφερόντως αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἀπηξίωσε
καὶ τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐδίδαξε δόξαν Χριστιανούς

B 334 πανοικεσία πεποιημένος¹ καὶ μεταπορευόμενος²

20 λελυμασμένα σφίσι τὰ πάτρια ἦθη. οἷς δὴ καὶ
νεῶν τῆς θεοτόκου ἐδείματο, φυλακτῆριον ταῖς
πόλεσι τῆς τε σωτηρίας καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τῇ δόξῃ
ἀληθείας ἐσόμενον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδέ πη
ἔσχε.

21 Βόρειον δὲ ἡ πόλις Μαυρουσίοις γειτνιώσα
βαρβάροις φόρου ὑποτελὴς οὐ γεγένηται ἐς τόδε
τοῦ χρόνου· οὐδέ τινες πώποτε δασμολόγοι³ ἢ

¹ πεποιημένος V: πεποιημένους A.

as safe as possible for the future, together with the whole country round about it.

And there are two cities which are known by the same name, each of them being called Augila. These are distant from Boreium about four days' journey for an unencumbered traveller,¹ and to the south of it; and they are both ancient cities whose inhabitants have preserved the practices of antiquity, for they all were suffering from the disease of polytheism even up to my day. There from ancient times there have been shrines dedicated to Ammon and to Alexander the Macedonian. The natives actually used to make sacrifices to them even up to the reign of Justinian. In this place there was a great throng of those called temple-slaves. But now the Emperor has made provision, not alone for the safety of the persons of his subjects, but he has also made it his concern to save their souls, and thus he has cared in every way for the people living there. Indeed he by no means neglected to take thought for their material interests in an exceptional way, and also he has taught them the doctrine of the true faith, making the whole population Christians and bringing about a transformation of their polluted ancestral customs. Moreover he built for them a Church of the Mother of God to be a guardian of the safety of the cities and of the true faith. So much, then, for this.

The city of Boreium, which lies near the barbarian Moors, has never been subject to tribute up to the present time, nor have any collectors of tribute or

¹ About eighty miles.

² μεταπορευόμενος Maltretus: μεταπορευομένου.

³ δασμολόγοι A: δασμοφόροι V.

φορολόγοι ἐς αὐτὴν ἵκοντο, ἐξ οὗ γεγόνασιν
 22 ἄνθρωποι. οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι ὤκνητο ἐκ παλαιοῦ
 αὐτῶν ἄγχιστα· οὗ δὴ καὶ νεὼς ἦν ἀρχαῖος
 αὐτοῖς, ὥνπερ ἐσέβοντό τε καὶ ἐτεθήπεσαν μά-
 λιστα, δειμαμένου τοῦτο Σολομῶνος,¹ ὥσπερ φασί,
 23 βασιλεύοντος Ἑβραίων τοῦ ἔθνους. ἀλλὰ καὶ
 αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς μεταγνῶναί
 τε τὰ πάτρια ἤθη, καὶ Χριστιανούς γεγονέναι
 διαπραξάμενος, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν νεὼν ἐς ἐκκλησίας
 μεθηρμόσατο σχῆμα.

γ'. Μετὰ τούτους αἱ Σύρταις εἰσὶν αἱ μεγάλαι
 ὠνομασμέναι. ἐφ' οὗ δέ εἰσι σχήματος αὗται,
 καὶ ὅτου δὴ ἔνεκα τούτου μεταλαγχάνουσι τοῦ
 2 ὀνόματος, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. προβέβληταί τις ἐνταῦθα
 ἡῖων· σχιζομένη δὲ αὐτὴ τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης
 ἐπιρροῇ, τῷ τε ῥοθίῳ ἀφανιζομένη, ἀποβαίνειν
 δοκεῖ, καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὴν² ὑποχωροῦσα ὀπίσω ἰέναι·
 ἐς κόλπον δὲ μηνοειδῇ ἐπὶ μακρότατον τέτραπται.
 3 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀρχομένης πλευρᾶς διάπλους ἐς τετ-
 ρακοσίους διήκει σταδίου· τοῦ δὲ μηνοειδοῦς τὸ
 4 περίμετρον ἐς ἡμερῶν ἕξ ὁδὸν κατατείνει. ταύτης
 γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα πεπιεσμένη τῆς ἠπείρου ἐντὸς τὸν
 5 κόλπον ποιεῖται. ἐπειδὴν τε ναὺς ἀνέμῳ ἢ
 κλύδωνι βιαζομένη τοῦ διάπλου ἐντὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 B 335 μηνοειδοῦς τὴν ἀρχὴν γένηται, τὸ ἐνθένδε αὐτῇ
 ἐπανιέναι ἀμήχανά ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ συρομένη τὸ
 λοιπὸν ἔοικε, καὶ διαφανῶς ἐπίπροσθεν αἰ

taxes come to it since the creation of man. The Jews had lived close by from ancient times, and they had an ancient temple there also, which they revered and honoured especially, since it was built, as they say, by Solomon, while he was ruling over the Hebrew nation. But the Emperor Justinian brought it about that all these too changed their ancestral worship and have become Christians, and he transformed their temple into a church.

iii. Beyond these lie the Great Syrtes, as they are called. And I shall explain what their form is and why they are given this name. A sort of shore projects there, but is itself divided by the influx of the sea, and being hidden by the water it seems to disappear and to retreat back into itself; and it forms by its curve a very long crescent-shaped gulf.¹ The chord of the crescent extends to a distance of four hundred stades,² but the perimeter of the crescent amounts to a six-days' journey,³ for the sea, thrusting itself inside of this arm of the mainland, forms the gulf. When a ship driven by wind or wave gets inside the opening and beyond the chord of the crescent, it is then impossible for it to return, but from that moment it seems "to be drawn" (*suresthai*)⁴ and appears distinctly to be dragged steadily forward.

¹ Modern Gulf of Sidra.

² About fifty miles.

³ About 120 miles.

⁴ A modern etymology connects the name with the Arabic *serl* "desert," a term now applied to the whole coast here bordering the Sahara. On the danger to sailors, cf. St. Paul's narrative of his experience, *Acts* 27. 17.

¹ Σολομῶνος Maltretus: σολομῶντος V.

² ἐαυτὴν V: ἐαυτῆς A.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- 6 ἔλκομένη. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, οἶμαι, τὸν χῶρον οἱ
 πάλαι ἄνθρωποι τοῦ πάθους τῶν νεῶν ἕνεκα
 7 Σύρτεις ὠνόμασαν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ διανεῦσαι τοῖς
 πλοίοις ἄχρι ἐς τὴν ἡϊόνα δυνατὰ γεγένηται.
 πέτραι γὰρ ὕφαλοι διακεκληρωμένοι τὰ πλείστα
 τοῦ κόλπου πλώϊμα οὐ ξυγχωροῦσιν ἐνταῦθα
 εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς βράχεσι τὰς ναῦς διαχρῶν-
 P 112 8 ται. μόνοις δὲ τοῖς λέμβοις οἱ πλωτῆρες τούτων
 δὴ τῶν νηῶν οἰοί τε εἰσι διασώζεσθαι, ἂν
 οὕτω τύχοι, μετὰ κινδύνων τὰς διεξόδους ποιού-
 μενοι.
 9 Τριπόλεως τῇδε τῆς καλουμένης τὰ ὄριά ἐστι.
 Μαυρούσιοί τε βάρβαροι ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσι, Φοι-
 νικὸν ἔθνος. οὐ δὴ καὶ πόλις ἐστὶ Κιδαμή
 10 ὄνομα. ἐνταῦθά τε Μαυρούσιοι ᾤκηνται
 Ῥωμαίων ἔνσπονδοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ὄντες· οἵπερ
 ἅπαντες πεισθέντες Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ, δόγ-
 ματι τῷ Χριστιανῶν ἐθελούσιοι προσεχώρησαν.
 11 Πακάτοι δὲ οὗτοι τανῦν οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ἐπικαλοῦν-
 ται, ἐπεὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους αἰεὶ σπονδὰς ἔχουσι·
 πάκεν¹ γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην τῇ Λατίνων καλοῦσι
 12 φωνῇ. Πενταπόλεως δὲ Τρίπολις ἡμερῶν διέχει
 ὁδῷ εἴκοσιν εὐζώνων ἀνδρί.
 δ'. Πόλις ἐνθένδε ἡ Λεπτιμάγνα ἐκδέχεται,
 μεγάλη μὲν καὶ πολυάνθρωπος τὸ παλαιὸν οὔσα,
 ἔρημος δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον γεγενημένη ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ
 πλείστον, ψάμμου τε πλήθει τὰ πολλὰ τῷ
 2 ἀπημελῆσθαι καταχωσθεῖσα. καὶ ταύτης δὲ² τὸν
 περίβολον ἐκ τῶν θεμελίων ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς ᾠκοδομή-
 B 336 σατο βασιλεὺς, οὐ τοσοῦτον μέντοι, ὅσος τὸ

¹ πάκεν V : πάκα A.

From this fact, I suppose, the men of ancient times named the place Syrtes because of the fate of the ships. On the other hand, it is not possible for the ships to make their way to the shore, for submerged rocks scattered over the greater part of the gulf do not permit sailing there, since they destroy the ships in the shoals. Only in small boats are the sailors of such ships able to save themselves, with good luck, by picking their way amid perils through the outlets.

Here are the boundaries of Tripolis,¹ as it is called. It is inhabited by the barbarian Moors, a Phoenician race. Here too is a city, Cidamê ² by name; and in it live Moors who have been at peace with the Romans from ancient times. All these were won over by the Emperor Justinian and voluntarily adopted the Christian doctrine. These Moors are now called *pacati*, because they have a permanent treaty with the Romans; for peace they call *pacem* in the Latin tongue. Tripolis is a twenty-days' journey from the Pentapolis for an unencumbered traveller.³

iv. Next after this comes the city of Leptis Magna,⁴ which in ancient times was large and populous, though at a later time it came to be deserted for the most part, being through neglect largely buried in sand. Our Emperor built up the circuit-wall of this city from the foundations, not however on as large a scale as it was formerly, but much smaller, in order

¹ That is, Tripolitana.

² Modern Ghadames

³ About four hundred miles.

⁴ Modern Lebida.

² καὶ ταύτης δὲ V: ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης A.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

- πρότερον ἦν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πολὺ ἥσσονα, ὥς μὴ τῷ
 μεγέθει σφαλερὰ καὶ αὖθις ἢ πόλις εἶη, καὶ
 3 πολεμίοις μὲν ἄλωτῇ, ψάμμῳ δὲ πρόχειρος. νῦν
 δὲ δὴ τῆς πόλεως τὸ μὲν καταχωσθέν ἐφ' οὐπερ
 ἦν σχήματος εἶασεν οὕτω δὴ ψάμμῳ ἐς λόφους
 συνειλεγμένα κεκαλυμμένον, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ἐτειχί-
 4 σατο ἐν τῷ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐχυρῷ μάλιστα. καὶ
 ἱερὸν μὲν ἀξιοθέατον τῇ θεοτόκῳ τῇδε ἀνέθηκεν,
 5 ἐκκλησίας δὲ τέτταρας ἐδείματο ἄλλας. πρὸς δὲ
 καὶ ἀνωκοδομήσατο τὰ τῇδε γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς
 ἄνω χρόνοις καὶ καταπεπτωκότα βασιλεία, Σεβή-
 ρου βασιλέως τοῦ παλαιοῦ ἔργον· ὃς δὴ ἐνθένδε
 ὀρμώμενος μνημεῖα τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τὰ βασιλεία
 τάδε ἀπέλιπεν.
 6 Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα γενόμενος τοῦ λόγου τὸ
 ξυνενεχθὲν ἐπὶ Λεπτιμάγνης ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ καθ'
 ἡμᾶς ὥς ἤκιστα σιωπήσομαι. ἤδη μὲν Ἰουστι-
 νιανοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος, οὐπω δὲ
 πόλεμον τὸν Βανδιλικὸν ἀνηρημένου, Μαυρούσιοι
 βάρβαροι, οἱ Λευάθαι καλούμενοι, βιασάμενοι τοὺς
 Λιβύης τότε κυρίους Βανδίλους, ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων
 7 τὴν Λεπτιμάγναν παντάπασι κατεστήσαντο. ἐν
 χώροις δὲ λοφώδεσι ξὺν τοῖς ἡγεμόσι διατριβὴν
 τινα ἔχοντες Λεπτιμάγνης οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν,
 8 τεθέανται. πολεμίους τε ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐνδήμους
 ἐνταῦθα γενέσθαι, δρόμῳ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐβοήθουν
 9 πολλῷ. ἀνθρώπων τε οὐδένα εὐρόντες ἐπὶ τοὺς
 μάντεϊς τὸ φῥάγμα ἦγον, οἳ δὴ τῷ ξυμβεβηκότι
 τεκμηριούμενοι τὴν Λεπτιμάγναν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν
 10 οἰκισθήσεσθαι προὔλεγον. οὐ πολλῷ τε ὕστερον
 ἀφικόμενος ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατὸς Λιβύην τε τὴν

that the city might not again be weak because of its very size, and liable to capture by the enemy, and also be exposed to the sand. At present, indeed, he has left the buried portion of the city just as it was, covered by the sand heaped up in mounds, but the rest of the city he has surrounded with a very strongly built wall. Here he dedicated to the Mother of God a very notable shrine, and built four other churches. Furthermore, he rebuilt the palace, which had been built here in early times and now lay in ruins, the work of the ancient Emperor Severus,¹ who was born in this place and so left this palace as a memorial of his good fortune.

Now that I have reached this point in the narrative, I cannot pass over in silence the thing which happened in Leptis Magna in our time. When the Emperor Justinian had already taken over the imperial authority, but had not yet undertaken the Vandalic War, the barbarian Moors, those called *Leuathae*, overpowered the Vandals, who were then masters of Libya, and made Leptis Magna entirely empty of inhabitants. While they were tarrying for a time with their leaders on hilly ground not far from Leptis Magna, they suddenly saw a flame of fire in the middle of the city. Supposing that local enemies had got in there, they ran to the rescue with great speed. Finding no one there, they took the matter to the soothsayers, who, by an inkling of what has since happened, predicted that Leptis Magna would soon be inhabited again. Not long after that the Emperor's army came and occupied both Tripolis and

¹ Lucius Septimius Severus, A.D. 193-211.

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- ἄλλην καὶ Τρίπολιν ἔσχε, Βανδίλων τε καὶ
Μαυρουσίων καθυπέρτερος τῷ πολέμῳ γεγενη-
μένος. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τὴν ἐκβολὴν τοῦ λόγου
ἐποιησάμην ἐπάνειμι.
- 11 Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς καὶ
λουτρῶνας ἐν δημοσίῳ πεποίηται, τὸν τε περι-
βολὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐκ θεμελίων τῶν ἐσχάτων
ὠκοδομήσατο, καὶ τοῖς τε βαλανείοις τοῖς τε ἄλλοις
πᾶσιν ἐς πόλεως αὐτὴν κατεστήσατο σχῆμα.
- 12 τοὺς τε πλησιοχώρους αὐτῇ βαρβάρους, οἱ
Γαδαβιτανοὶ ἐπικαλοῦνται,¹ κατακόρως ἐς τὸδε
τοῦ χρόνου τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν καλουμένην ἀθεῖαν
δοξάζοντας, Χριστιανούς διεπράξατο γενέσθαι
- 13 τανῦν προθυμία τῇ πάσῃ. ἀλλὰ καὶ Σαβραθὰν
ἐτειχίσατο πόλιν, οὗ δὴ καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν πολλοῦ
ἐκκλησίαν ἐδείματο.
- 14 Πόλεις δὲ δύο εἰσὶ ταύτης ἐν ἐσχάτῳ τῆς χώρας,
Τάκαπά τε καὶ Γίργις, ὧν δὴ κατὰ μέσον Σύρτεις
- 15 τὰς μικρὰς ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. ἐνταῦθα γίνεται τι
ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην θαυμάσιον ἡλίκον. ἡ θάλασσα
ἐν στενῷ θλιβομένη ἀπεργάζεται μηνοειδῆ κόλπον,
ἥπερ γίνεσθαι καὶ κατὰ² τὰς ἄλλας Σύρτεις
- 16 ἐρρήθη. ἀναβαίνει δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον πλέον
ἢ ὁδῷ ἡμέρας εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί, ἀμφί τε τὰ
πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐπάνεισιν αὖθις, ἐπιλιποῦσα ἐπὶ
ξηροῦ τὴν ἡϊόνα ταύτην κατὰ ταῦτά ταῖς ἄλλαις
- 17 ἀκταῖς. οἱ τε ναῦται εἰς τὴν ἡπειρον ἀναγόμε-
νοι θάλασσαν ἐπὶ καιροῦ γεγεννημένην, τῆς μὲν
ἡμέρας ὡς πορρωτάτῳ τὰ εἰωθότα ναυτίλλονται,
ἀμφὶ δείλῃν δὲ πάντως ὀψίαν ὡς ἐν γῇ αὐλισό-
μενοι συσκευάζονται, κοντούς τινας ἐν παρασκευῇ
- 18 μακροὺς ἔχοντες. ἐπειδάν τε τάχιστα τοῦ ροθίου

the rest of Libya, gaining ascendancy over both the Vandals and the Moors in the war. However, I shall return to the point at which I digressed from my account.

In this city the Emperor Justinian also built public baths, and he erected the circuit-wall of the city from its lowest foundations, and by means both of the baths and of all the other improvements gave it the character of a city. The barbarians who live close by, those called Gadabitani, who up to that time were exceedingly addicted to what is called the Greek ¹ form of atheism, he has now made zealous Christians. He also walled the city of Sabrathan,² where he also built a very noteworthy church.

There are two cities at the extremity of this land, Tacapa³ and Girgis, between which lie the Lesser Syrtes. There a thing happens every day which is truly wonderful. The sea, compressed into a narrow space, forms a crescent-shaped gulf, just as I have said happens at the other Syrtes. The sea comes up on the mainland more than a day's journey for an unencumbered traveller,⁴ but towards evening it returns again, leaving the shore there dry as on other coasts. The sailors put out over the mainland, which is temporarily transformed into a sea, and during the day they sail as far as possible by the usual means, but in the late afternoon they make preparations to bivouac as if on land, having certain long poles in readiness. As soon as they observe

¹ *I.e.* pagan.

² Modern Tripoli Vecchia.

³ Modern Cades.

⁴ About twenty miles.

¹ ἐπικαλοῦνται V: καλοῦνται A.

² κατὰ added by Haury, κατὰ for καὶ Maltretus

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αἰσθωνται ὑπόπτως ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἔχοντος,
 οἷδε τοὺς κοντοὺς ἔχοντες καὶ διαχειρίζοντες ἐκ-
 19 πηδῶσιν ὀκνήσει ¹ οὐδεμιᾷ ἐκ τῆς νεώς. νηχόμενοι
 δὲ πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐστήκασιν, ἥνικα ἂν σφίσι
 20 τὸ ὕδωρ οὐχ ὑπεραίροι τὰ πρόσωπα. ἐκ τε
 τῶν ἄκρων τοὺς κοντοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς προσ-
 ουδίσαντες ἐν ξηρῷ ἤδη γεγεννημένης ἢ ἐσομένης
 αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὀρθοὺς ἱστᾶσιν, ὑποκεισομένους
 τῷ πλοίῳ καὶ μετεωρίζοντας ἐκατέρωθεν, ὥς μὴ
 21 ἐπικλῖναν ἐπὶ θάτερα συντριβὲς γένηται. τῇ
 δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ὀρθρου βαθέος ἢ μὲν ἡπειρος μετ-
 αμφιασαμένη τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπικυρτοῦται κυμαί-
 22 νουσα, τὰ δὲ πλοῖα ἐπαιρόμενα πλεῖ. οἱ τε
 ναῦται περιελόντες ἐπικαιριώτατα τοὺς κοντοὺς
 23 ναυτίλλονται αὐθις. παράλλαξιν τε οὐδεμίαν τοῦ
 ἔργου γενέσθαι ξυμβαίνει, ἀλλ' ἐς ἡμέραν ἐκάστην
 ἢ τῶν στοιχείων διαδοχὴ ἐπιγίνεται.

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ε'. Μετὰ δὲ Τρίπολιν τε καὶ Σύρτεις ἡμεῖς
 2 ἐπὶ Λιβύην τὴν ἄλλην ἴωμεν. ἀρκτέον δὲ ἡμῖν
 ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, ἢ μεγίστη τε καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτη
 τῶν τῇδε πόλεων τυγχάνει οὔσα, τοσοῦτον πρό-
 τερον ὑπειπουῖσιν, ὥς ἥνικα Γιζέριχός τε καὶ
 Βανδίλοι Λιβύην ἔσχον, ἐνθύμημα ἐπιγέγονεν
 αὐτοῖς ἀξιώλεθρόν τε καὶ πρέπον βαρβάροις.
 3 ἄμεινον γὰρ ἐλογίσαντο σφίσι τὰ πράγματα
 ἔξειν ἀτειχίστων ὄντων τῶν τῇδε χωρίων, ὥς
 μή τι καταλαβόντες αὐτῶν Ῥωμαῖοι Βανδίλους
 4 κακουργεῖν ἔχοιεν. ἅπαντα οὖν τὰ τεῖχῃ ἐς
 τὸ ἔδαφος καθεῖλον εὐθύς. βάρβαροι γὰρ ἅπαν-
 τες ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ ² Ῥωμαίων
 βουλευονται μὲν ὥς ὀξύτατα, ἐπιτελοῦσι δὲ ὥς
 5 ταχύτατα ὅσα ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκοῦντα εἴη. μόνον

that the water is threatening to draw back, with no delay they leap out of the ships holding the poles and dragging them along. At first they swim, and then they stand as soon as the water does not rise above their faces. And they plant the ends of their poles in the earth as soon as it has become dry or is on the point of becoming so, and they set them upright so as to prop up the boat from both sides and keep it upright, in order that it may not fall over to either side and be crushed. On the following day, at early dawn, the mainland again transforms itself into the sea with its rolling waves, and the boats are lifted and float away. The sailors meanwhile remove the poles at just the right moment and proceed to sail once more. This goes on without any variation, but every day the alternation of the elements takes place.

v. After Tripolis and the Syrtes, let us go on to the rest of Libya. We must begin from Carthage, which chances to be the largest and the most noteworthy of the cities in this region, prefacing our account with the remark that when Gizeric and the Vandals acquired Libya, a device occurred to them which was both pernicious and worthy of barbarians. They reasoned that they would be better off if all the towns of the region should be without walls, so that the Romans might not capture any of them and thus be able to harm the Vandals. So they immediately tore down all the walls to the ground. All the barbarians, as a general thing, are very keen in planning damage to the Romans, and they are very swift in executing whatever they decide upon. Only Car-

¹ ἐν before ὁκνήσει deleted by Braun.

² τῷ A: τῶν V.

- δὲ αὐτοῖς¹ τό τε Καρχηδόνος καὶ ὀλίγα ἄττα ἐφ'
οὐπὲρ ἦσαν σχήματος ἔμειναν, ὥνπερ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
ἀπαξιούντες, διαφθορεῖν² αὐτὰ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀφήκαν.
- B 339 6 βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς (ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενὸς
ἐπαινούντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεφρικότων τὸ ἔργον
ἀπάντων, μόνου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσηγουμένου τε καὶ
ἐπαγγελλομένου καὶ ξυλλαμβάνοντος) Βελισάριόν
τε καὶ στρατεύμα ἐπὶ Λιβύην πέμψας, Γελίμερά
τε καὶ δύναμιν τὴν³ Βανδίλων καθεῖλε, πολλοὺς
μὲν κτείνας τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς δορυαλώτους πε-
ποιημένος, ἥπερ μοι ἐν λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν
7 πολέμων δεδήλωται. καὶ τὰ μὲν καθηρημένα
τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ ὀχυρωμάτων ἀνεενώσατο ἅπαντα,
ἕτερα δὲ παμπληθῇ ἐπετεχνήσατο⁴ νεοχμώσας
αὐτός.
- 8 Πρῶτα μὲν οὖν Καρχηδόνος, τῆς νῦν καὶ
Ἰουστινιανῆς, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, καλουμένης ἐπεμελή-
σατο, διερρυηκότα μὲν τὸν περίβολον ἀνοικοδο-
μησάμενος ἅπαντα, καὶ τάφρον ἐν περιδρόμῳ
9 διορύξας οὐ πρότερον οὐσαν. ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ
ἱερὰ τεμένη, τῇ μὲν θεοτόκῳ, ὅπερ ἐν Παλατίῳ
ἐστί, καὶ τούτου ἐκτὸς τῶν τινι ἐπιχωρίων
10 ἀγίων⁵ ἀγία Πρίμη. ἔτι μέντοι καὶ στοὰς
ἐκατέρωθι τῆς Μαριτίμου ἀγορᾶς καλουμένης
ἐδείματο, καὶ βαλανεῖον ἐν δημοσίῳ ἀξιοθέατον,
ὅπερ ἐπωνύμως τῇ βασιλίδι Θεοδωριανᾶς ἐπω-
11 νόμασαν. ἐδείματο δὲ καὶ μοναστήριον τοῦ
περιβόλου ἐντὸς ἐπιθαλασσίδιον, ἄγχιστα τοῦ λιμένος
ὅπερ Μανδράκιον ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐρύματί τε αὐτὸ
ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν φρούριον ἀνανταγώνιστον
ἀπειργάσατο.

¹ After αὐτοῖς V has καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ διεφθάρη τῷ χρόνῳ.

thage and a few other places were left by them just as they were, for they declined to concern themselves with these, and left them for time to destroy. But the Emperor Justinian (although no man approved of his purpose¹ and all actually shuddered at the undertaking, and only God furthered the project and promised help and support) sent Belisarius and an army against Libya; and he broke the power of Gelimer and the Vandals, killing many and making the rest captives, as I have recounted in the Books on the Wars.² He restored all the dismantled strongholds in Libya, every one of them, and he also added a great many new ones himself.

First, then, he cared for Carthage, which now, very properly, is called Justinianê, rebuilding the whole circuit-wall, which had fallen down, and digging around it a moat which it had not had before. He also dedicated shrines, one to the Mother of God in the palace, and one outside this to a certain local saint, Saint Prima. Furthermore, he built stoas on either side of what is called the Maritime Forum, and a public bath, a fine sight, which they have named Theodorianae, after the Empress. He also built a monastery on the shore inside the circuit-wall, close to the harbour which they call Mandracium, and by surrounding it with very strong defences he made it an impregnable fortress.

¹ Cf. *Wars*, III. x. 2.

² Book III.

² διαφθορεῖν Maltretus: διαφθορεῖ.

³ τὴν Haury: τῶν.

⁴ ἐπετεχνήσατο V: μετετεχνήσατο A

⁵ ἁγίων added by Maltretus.

⁶ ἐπωνύμως V: ὁμωνύμως A.

- 12 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν¹ ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος τῆς νέας
 Ἰουστινιανῶ εἵργασται. ἐν δὲ χώρα τῇ ἀμφ'
 αὐτήν, ἣ Προκονσουλαρία ὠνόμασται, πόλις
 P 115 ἀτείχιστος ἦν, Βάγα ὄνομα, μὴ ὅτι βαρβάροις
 ἐπιούσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τύχῃ τινὶ παριούσιν ἀλωτῇ
 B 340 13 οὔσα. ταύτην ἐρύματι ἐχυρωτάτῳ περιβαλὼν
 Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πόλιν τε διεπράξατο εἶναι
 καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ διασώσασθαι
 14 οἷαν τε εἶναι.² οἳ δὲ τέτυχηκότες τῆς χάριτος
 ἐς τὴν τῆς βασιλίδος τιμὴν Θεοδοριάδα καλοῦσι
 15 τὴν πόλιν. φρούριον δὲ ὠκοδομήσατο ἐν ταύτῃ
 τῇ χώρᾳ ὃ Τούκκα καλοῦσιν.

- ς'. Ἐν Βυζακίᾳ δὲ πόλις, Ἀδράμυτος ὄνομα,
 ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ οἰκεῖται, μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος
 ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὔσα, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ τῆς μητροπό-
 λεως ὄνομά τε καὶ ἀξίωμα κληρωσαμένη ἐν
 ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐπεὶ πρώτην αὐτὴν μεγέθει τε
 2 καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονία ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. ταύτης
 Βανδίλοι μὲν τὸν περίβολον ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον,
 ὥς μὴ ποτε Ῥωμαῖοι αὐτῆς ἀντιλαβέσθαι δυνατοὶ
 εἶεν. Μαυρουσίους τε καταθέουσι τὰ ἐκείνῃ
 3 χωρία ἐν ἐπιτηδεῖῳ ἀπέκειτο. Λίβυες δὲ κατὰ
 ταύτην οἰκήτορες, ὅσα γε δυνατὰ τῆς σφῶν
 σωτηρίας ἐπιμελούμενοι, τὰ διηρημένα τῶν τοίχων
 ἀποτριγχώσαντες τὰς οἰκίας ἀλλήλαις ἐνήψαν.
 4 ἐξ ὧν δὴ τοῖς ἐπιούσι διαμαχόμενοι ἔν τε τῷ
 σφαλερῷ τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ τῷ ἐπικινδύνῳ ἡμύνοντο.
 5 ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τριχὸς ἡ σωτηρία διηνεκὲς καὶ
 ἐπὶ θατέρου σκέλους ἐστῶσα, πολεμουμένοις μὲν
 ὑπὸ τῶν Μαυρουσίων, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Βανδύλων ἀμε-

¹ οὖν A: αὐτῶι V.

² διασώσασθαι οἷαν τε εἶναι V: διεσώσατο A.

These things, then, were done by Justinian at modern Carthage. In the surrounding region, which is called Proconsularis,¹ there was an unwalled city, Vaga by name, which could be captured not only by a planned attack of the barbarians, but even if they merely chanced to be passing that way. This place the Emperor Justinian surrounded with very strong defences and made it worthy to be called a city, and capable of affording safe protection to its inhabitants. And they, having received this favour, now call the city Theodorias in honour of the Empress. He also built in this district a fortress which they call Tucca.

vi. In Byzacium there is a city on the coast, Adramytus by name,² which has been large and flourishing from ancient times, and for this reason it won the name and the rank of metropolis of the region, since it chanced to be first in point of size and, in general, of prosperity. The Vandals had torn the circuit-wall of this city down to the ground, so that the Romans might not be able to use it against them. And it lay conveniently exposed to the Moors when they overran that region. Nevertheless, the Libyans who lived there tried to make provision, so far as they could, for their own safety, and so they made a barricade out of the ruins of the walls and joined their houses together; and from these they would fight against their assailants and try to defend themselves, though their hope was slight and their position precarious. So their safety always hung by a hair and they were kept standing on one leg, being exposed to the attacks of the Moors and to the

¹ *I.e.* the province Africa Proconsularis.

² Hadrumetum; modern Susa.

- 6 λουμένοις. ἀλλ' ἡνίκα Λιβύης κύριος τῷ πολέμῳ
 βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς γέγονε, τείχος τε τῇ
 πόλει εὐμέγεθες ἄγαν περιβαλὼν καὶ φρουρὰν
 ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτῶν καταστησάμενος ἀξιοχρεῶν
 θαρσεῖν τε ὑπὲρ ἀσφαλείας τοὺς τῇδε ὤκημένους
 πεποιῆται ἀφροντιστῆσαί τε πολεμίων ἀπάντων.
- B 341 7 διὸ δὴ αὐτὴν καὶ Ἰουστινιανὴν καλοῦσι τανῦν,
 σῶστρα τῷ βασιλεῖ ταῦτα ἐκτίνοντες, μόνη
 τοῦ ὀνόματος τῇ παρενθήκη τὴν εὐγνωμοσύνην
 ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ἐπεὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὅτῳ ἂν καὶ
 βασιλέως τὴν ἀγαθοεργίαν ἀμείβοντο οὔτε αὐτοὶ
 εἶχον οὔτε οὗτος¹ ἐβούλετο.
- 8 Ἦν δέ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐν τῇ τοῦ Βυζακίου παραλία
 χωρίον ὅπερ ἐκάλουν Καπούτβραδα οἱ ἐπιχώριοι.
 ἐνταῦθα καταπλεύσας τὰ πρῶτα ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως
 στόλος Λιβύων τῆς γῆς ἐπεβάτευεν, ἡνίκα ἐπὶ
- 9 Γελίμερά τε καὶ Βανδίλους ἐστράτευεν. οὗ
 δὴ καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον ἐκείνο καὶ λόγου κρεῖσσον
 ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπιδέδεικται ὁ θεὸς δῶρημα,
- P 116 ὅπερ μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων δεδήλωται
 10 λόγοις. ἀνύδρου γὰρ τοῦ χωρίου τὰ μάλιστα
 ὄντος, ὕδατος τε ἀπορία πολλῇ πιεζομένου τοῦ
 Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ, ἡ γῆ, πρότερον ἐπὶ ξηροῦ
 βεβαιότατα οὔσα, πηγὴν ἀνῆκεν οὗ δὴ τὸ χαρά-
 11 κωμα οἱ στρατιῶται εἰργάζοντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
 ὥρυσσον, ἡ δὲ ἀνεβλύστανεν. ἡ τε γῆ αὐχμὸν
 ἀποβαλοῦσα τὸν ἐπιχώριον καὶ μεθαρμοσαμένη
 τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν ὕδατι ποτίμῳ ὕγρὰ ἐγεγόνει.
- 12 ταύτῃ τε τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ στρατοπεδεύ-

¹ οὗτος V : αὐτὸς A.

neglect of the Vandals. However, when the Emperor Justinian became master of Libya by conquest, he put an exceedingly massive wall about the city and stationed there an adequate garrison of troops, thus giving the inhabitants assurance of safety and enabling them to disdain all enemies. For this reason they now call the place Justinianê, thus repaying the Emperor for their deliverance and displaying their gratitude simply by the adoption of the name, since they had no other means by which they could requite the Emperor's beneficence, nor did he himself wish other requital.

There was also a certain other town on the coast of Byzacium which the inhabitants used to call Caputvada.¹ At that point the Emperor's fleet landed and there the troops first set foot on the land of Libya, when they made the expedition against Gelimer and the Vandals. In that place also God revealed that marvellous and indescribable gift to the Emperor which I have described in the Books on the Wars.² For although the locality was exceedingly arid, so that the Roman army was very hard pressed by lack of water, the ground, which previously had been completely dry, sent up a spring at the place where the soldiers were building their stockade, for as they dug, the water began to gush forth. So the earth threw off the drought which prevailed there, and transforming its own character became saturated with drinking-water. Because of this circumstance they built a satisfactory camp in that place and

¹ Modern Ras Kaboudia; in *Wars*, III. xiv. 17 Procopius explains the name as meaning "Shoal's Head."

² III. xv. 34, 35; the account given there is repeated in the present passage.

- σαντές τε καὶ αὐλισάμενοι, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὥς
 ἐς τὴν μάχην συσκευασάμενοι, ἵνα τὰ ἐν μέσῳ
 13 συντέμῳ, Λιβύην ἔσχον. μαρτυρίῳ τοίνυν διη-
 νεκεῖ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δῶρον πιστούμενος Ἰουστινιανὸς
 βασιλεὺς, ᾧ δὴ βουλομένῳ τὰ ἀμνηχανώτατα
 εὐκόλα γίνεται, ἐς πόλιν αὐτίκα μεταβιβάσαι τὸ
 χωρίον τοῦτο βεβούλευται, τείχει μὲν ἐρυμνὴν, τῇ
 δὲ ἄλλῃ κατασκευῇ ἐς πόλεως ὄγκον ὑπογεγραμ-
 μένην εὐδαίμονος, καὶ γέγονεν ἔργον τὸ τοῦ
 14 βασιλέως ἐνθύμημα. τεῖχος τε γὰρ ἀποτετόρ-
 νευται καὶ πόλις,¹ καὶ ἀγροῦ τύχῃ ἐξαπιναίως
 15 ἀμείβεται. οἱ τε ἄγροικοι τὴν ἐχέτλην ἀπορ-
 ριψάμενοι πολιτικῶς βιοτεύουσιν, οὐκ ἄγροικον
 B 342 16 δίαιταν ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἀστείαν διαχειρίζοντες. ἐπεὶ
 καὶ ἀγοράζουσιν ἐνταῦθα διημερεύοντες, καὶ
 ὑπὲρ τῶν σφίσιν ἀναγκαίων ἐκκλησιάζουσι, καὶ
 ἀγορὰν ἀλλήλοις συμβάλλουσι, τᾶλλα τε ἅπαντα
 πράσσουσιν ὅσα δὴ ἐς πόλεως ἀξίωμα ἦκει.
 17 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν Βυζακίῳ τῷ ἐπιθαλασσίῳ πεποιή-
 ται. κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν ἐς τῆς χώρας τὰ
 ἔσχατα, ἵνα δὴ αὐτὴν βάρβαροι προσοικοῦσι
 Μαυρούσιοι, ἐπιτειχίσματα κατ' αὐτῶν πεποιήται
 δυνατώτατα, ἐξ ὧν δὴ οὐκέτι οἰοί τέ εἰσι κατα-
 18 θεῖν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχήν. πόλεις τε γὰρ τὰς
 ἐνταῦθα οὔσας ἐν ἐσχατιᾷ τῆς χώρας ἐκάστην²
 τείχεσιν ἐχυροῖς ἄγαν περιβαλὼν, αἷς αἱ προση-
 γορίαι Μάμμης τε καὶ Τελεπτή καὶ Κούλουλις,
 καὶ φρούριον τειχισάμενος, ὅπερ καλοῦσιν οἱ
 ἐπιχώριοι Αὐμέτρα, ἐχεγγύους ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς
 στρατιωτῶν κατεστήσατο.

¹ πόλις A: πόλιν V.

² ἐκάστην Haury: ἐκάστη.

spent that night there ; and on the next day they prepared for battle and, to omit what intervened, took possession of Libya. So the Emperor Justinian, by way of bearing witness to the gift of God by means of a permanent testimony—for the most difficult task easily yields to his wish—conceived the desire to transform this place forthwith into a city which should be made strong by a wall and distinguished by its other appointments as worthy to be counted an impressive and prosperous city ; and the purpose of the Emperor has been realized. For a wall has been brought to completion and with it a city, and the condition of a farm land is being suddenly changed. And the rustics have thrown aside the plough and lead the existence of a community, no longer going the round of country tasks but living a city life. They pass their days in the market-place and hold assemblies to deliberate on questions which concern them ; and they traffic with one another, and conduct all the other affairs which pertain to the dignity of a city.

This then was done in Byzacium on the sea. In the interior of this land and to its farthest parts, where barbarian Moors live hard by, he built very powerful outposts against them, because of which they are no longer able to overrun the Roman dominion. He surrounded each one of the cities with very strong walls, since they stand on the rim of the territory ; these bear the names Mammes, Teleptê and Cululis.¹ He also constructed a fort which the natives call Aumetra, and in these places he stationed trustworthy garrisons of troops.

¹ Cululis (or Collops Magna, modern Collo) was on the coast near the western boundary of Numidia.

P 117

B 343

ζ'. Τρόπῳ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ Νουμιδίων τῇ χώρᾳ
 τειχίσματί τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν φυλακτηρίοις τὴν
 ἀσφάλειαν προσεποίησεν, ὥνπερ ἕκαστα ἐρῶν
 2 ἔρχομαι. ὄρος ἐστὶν ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ, ὅπερ Αὐράσιον
 ἐπικέκληται, οἷον δὴ γῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐτέρωθι
 3 ὡς ἦκιστα ξυμβαίνει εἶναι. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄρος
 οὐρανόμηκες μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀποτόμῳ ἀνέχει, ἐς
 περίμετρον δὲ ἡμερῶν μάλιστα διήκει ὁδῷ
 τριῶν. καὶ προσιόντι μὲν ἀπρόσβατόν ἐστιν,
 ἀνάβασιν οὐδεμίαν ὅτι μὴ ἐν ἀποκρήμνῳ ἔχον.
 4 ἄνω δὲ γενομένῳ γεώδης τε ἡ χώρα καὶ ὁμαλῇ
 τὰ πεδία καὶ ὁδοὶ προσηγεῖς, λειμῶνες εὐνομοί,
 παράδεισοι κατάφυτοι δένδροις, ἀρώματα πάντα.
 5 καὶ πηγαὶ μὲν ἀποβλύζουσαι τῶν τῇδε σκοπέλων,
 γαληνὰ δὲ τὰ ὕδατα, καὶ ποταμοὶ πλήθει ῥοθίου
 ἐπικυρτούμενοι, καὶ τὸ δὴ πάντων παραδοξό-
 6 τατον, τὰ τε λήϊα καὶ τὰ δένδρα ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
 ὄρει διπλάσιον μεγέθους πέρι τὸν καρπὸν φέρουσιν
 ἢ ἐν Λιβύῃ τῇ ἄλλῃ πέφυκε γίνεσθαι. τὰ μὲν
 6 οὖν ὄρους τοῦ Αὐρασίου ταύτῃ πη ἔχει. Βαν-
 δίλοι δὲ αὐτὸ σὺν πάσῃ Λιβύῃ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς
 εἶχον, οὓς δὴ Μαυρούσιοι ἀφελόμενοι τῇδε
 7 ἰδρύσαντο. Μαυρουσίους δὲ καὶ Ἰαῦδαν, ὃς
 αὐτῶν ἦρχεν, ἐξελάσας ἐνθένδε Ἰουστινιανὸς
 βασιλεὺς, τῇ ἄλλῃ προσεποίησε Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ.
 8 προνοήσας τε ὡς μὴ καὶ αὐθις οἱ βάρβαροι κακουρ-
 γοῖεν ἐνταῦθα ἰόντες, πόλεις μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ ὄρος
 ἐρήμους τε καὶ ἀτειχίστους τὸ παράπαν εὐρῶν
 ἐτειχίσατο, Πεντεβαγάην τε λέγω καὶ Φλωρεν-
 τιανὴν καὶ Βάδην τε καὶ Μήλεον καὶ Ταμουγάδην,

¹ Modern Jebel Auress.

vii. In the same way he assured the safety of the land of Numidia by means of fortifications and garrisons of soldiers, each one of which I shall now mention. There is a mountain in Numidia which is called Aurasius,¹ such as chances to be found nowhere else at all in the civilized world. For this mountain rises steeply to a towering height and its perimeter extends to a distance of about three days' journey.² It offers no path as one approaches it, having no ascent except over cliffs. But after one gets to the top there is deep soil and level plains and easy roads, meadows good for pasture, parks full of trees and plough-land everywhere. Springs bubble out from the cliffs there, their waters are placid, there are rippling rivers which flow chattering along, and strangest of all, the grain-fields and the trees on this mountain produce crops which are double in size compared with those which are wont to grow in the rest of Libya. Such is the condition of Mt. Aurasius. The Vandals held it originally along with the rest of Libya, but the Moors wrested it from them and settled there. The Emperor Justinian, however, expelled from there the Moors, and Iaudas who ruled over them,³ and added this mountain to the rest of the Roman Empire. As a precaution in order that the barbarians might not again make trouble by getting a foothold there, he fortified cities about the mountain which he found deserted and altogether unwallled. I refer to Pentebagae and Florentianae and Badê and Meleum and Tamugadê,

² About sixty miles; actually it is larger than Procopius indicates.

³ Cf. *Wars*, IV. xiii. 22 ff.

- ἔτι μέντοι καὶ φρούρια δύο Δάβουσιν τε καὶ
 Γαιανά, φυλακτήρια δὲ στρατιωτῶν διαρκῇ ἐν-
 ταῦθα καταστησάμενος, οὐδεμίαν τοῖς ἐκείνη
 βαρβάροις ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Αὐράσιον ἐπιβουλῆς
 9 ἀπελίπετο.¹ καὶ χώραν δὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ τὸ Αὐράσιον
 ὑπὸ Βανδίλοις ὡς ἤκιστα οὖσαν τοὺς Μαυρου-
 σίους ἀφείλετο. πόλεις τε ἐνταῦθα ἐτειχίσατο
 10 δύο, τὴν τε Φρίκην καὶ Σίτιφιν. ἐν δὲ δὴ
 πόλεσι ταῖς ἐπὶ Νουμιδίας τῆς ἄλλης κειμέναις
 ἀνανταγώνιστα ἐρύματα κατεστήσατο. αἷς αἱ
 προσηγορίαι αἶδε εἰσί· Λαριβουζουδούων, Παρα-
 τουρών, Κιλανά, Σικκαβενερία,² Τίγισις, Λαμ-
 11 φουαομβά, Καλαμάα, Μέδαρα, Μέδελα. ἔτι μέν-
 τοι καὶ φρούρια δύο, ἡ Σκιλή τε καὶ Φώσαλα.
 ταῦτα μὲν ᾧδὲ πη ἔσχε.
 12 Πόλις δὲ πού ἐστιν ἐν ἡ νήσῳ Σαρδοῖ, ἡ νῦν
 Σαρδινία καλεῖται, Τραϊανοῦ Φόρον³ αὐτὴν
 13 καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ταύτην τειχὴρην πεποιήται
 Ἰουστινιανός, οὐ πρότερον οὖσαν, ἀλλὰ Μαυρου-
 σίοις τοῖς νησιώταις, οἱ Βαρβαρικῖνοι ἐπι-
 καλοῦνται, ὅτην ἄν λητίζεσθαι βουλομένοις
 ἦ, ἐν προχείρῳ κειμένην.
 14 Ἐν δὲ Γαδείροις, κατὰ θάτερα τῶν Ἡρακλέους
 στηλῶν, ἡ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐστι, κατὰ τὴν
 Λιβύης ἀκτὴν φρούριον ἦν ποτε Σέπτον ὄνομα,
 ὅπερ ἐδείμαντο μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι,
 Βανδίλων δὲ οὐκ ἐπιμελουμένων καθεῖλεν ὁ
 15 χρόνος. ὁ δὲ καθ' ἡμᾶς βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς
 16 κατεστήσατο. οὗ δὴ καὶ νεῶν ἀξιοθέατον τῇ

¹ ἀπελίπετο V: ἀπελείπετο A.

² So Haury: βενερία V.

³ φρούριον before Φόρον deleted by Haury.

as well as two forts, Dabuis and Gaeana; also he established there sufficient garrisons of soldiers, thus leaving to the barbarians there no hope of attacking Aurasius. The district beyond Aurasius, which had not been under the Vandals at all, he wrested from the Moors. There he walled two cities, Fricê and Sitifis.¹ At the cities situated in the rest of Numidia, the names of which follow, he set up impregnable defences: Laribuzuduôn, Paraturôn, Cilana, Siccaveneria,² Tigisis, Lamfouaomba, Calamaa, Medara,³ Medela; besides these, two forts, Scilê and Foscala. So much, then, for this.

There is a city on the island Sardô, which is now named Sardinia, called by the Romans Traiani Forum. This Justinian has supplied with a wall which it did not have before, but instead it lay exposed to the island⁴ Moors, who are called Barbaricini,⁵ whenever they wished to plunder it.

And at Gadira,⁶ at one side of the Pillars of Hercules, on the right side of the strait, there had been at one time a fortress on the Libyan shore named Septum;⁷ this was built by the Romans in early times, but being neglected by the Vandals, it had been destroyed by time. Our Emperor Justinian made it strong by means of a wall and strengthened its safety by means of a garrison. There too he con-

¹ Modern Setif.

² Or Sicca Veneris, modern Keff.

³ Or Admedera.

⁴ The Moors living in Sardinia; cf. *Wars*, IV. xiii. 44.

⁵ The region in the interior of Sardinia called Barbargia or Barbargia still preserves the name Barbaricini, but Procopius's explanation of the origin of the barbarian settlers has not been generally accepted. See *Wars*, IV. xiii. 44. The name survives in our Berbers.

⁶ Gades; modern Cadiz.

⁷ Modern Ceuta.

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

θεοτόκῳ ἀνέθηκεν, ἀναψάμενος μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῆς
τὰ τῆς πολιτείας προοίμια, παντὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπων
τῷ γένει ταύτῃ ἅμαχον τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο ποιού-
μενος.

- 17 Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαῦτά ἐστιν. ἀμφίλεκτον δὲ
οὐδὲν¹ γέγονεν, ἀλλ' ἔνδηλον ἀνθρώποις διαφανῶς
B 344 πᾶσιν, ὡς ἐκ τῶν ἐῶν ὀρίων ἄχρι ἐς δύνοντά
που τὸν ἥλιον, ἃ δὴ πέρατά ἐστι τῆς Ῥωμαίων
ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἐρύμασι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ στρατιωτῶν
φυλακτηρίοις Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς τὴν πολιτείαν
18 ἐκρατύνατο. ὅσα μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰουστινιανοῦ
οἰκοδομημάτων μαθεῖν ἴσχυσα ἢ αὐτόπτης γεγενη-
μένος ἢ τῶν θεασαμένων αὐτήκοος, ὅση δύναμις
19 τῷ λόγῳ ἐπῆλθον. ἐξεπίσταμαι δὲ ὡς πολλά με
καὶ ἄλλα παρῆλθεν εἰπεῖν ἢ ὅχλῳ λαθόντα ἢ
P 118 20 παντάπασιν ἄγνωστα μέιναντα. ὥστε εἴ τῳ²
διὰ σπουδῆς ἔσται διερευνήσασθαί τε ἅπαντα καὶ
τῷ λόγῳ ἐνθεῖναι, προσέσται αὐτῷ τά τε δέοντα
πεπραχέναι³ καὶ φιλοκάλου κλέος ἀπενεγκεῖν.

¹ οὐδὲν V: οὐδενὶ A.

² εἴ τῳ V: ὅτῳ A.

³ πεπραχέναι corrector in V: πεπραγέναι or πεποιηκέναι.

separated to the Mother of God a noteworthy church, thus dedicating to her the threshold¹ of the Empire, and making this fortress impregnable for the whole race of mankind.

So much for these things. There can be no dispute, but it is abundantly clear to all mankind, that the Emperor Justinian has strengthened the Empire, not with fortresses alone, but also by means of garrisons of soldiers, from the bounds of the East to the very setting of the sun, these being the limits of the Roman dominion. As many, then, of the buildings of the Emperor Justinian as I have succeeded in discovering, either by seeing them myself, or by hearing about them from those who have seen them, I have described in my account to the best of my ability. I am fully aware, however, that there are many others which I have omitted to mention, which either went unnoticed because of their multitude, or remained altogether unknown to me. So if anyone will take the pains to search them all out and add them to my treatise, he will have the credit of having done a needed work and of having won the renown of a lover of fair achievements.²

¹ Cf. Libanius *Or.* lix. 37: ἐμβιβάσας γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ προοίμιον τῆς βασιλείας.

² The achievements, that is, of Justinian.

APPENDIX I

THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF JUSTINIAN IN THE AUGUSTAEUM (*Buildings*, I. ii. 5-12)

A DRAWING of this statue, made at the behest of the traveller and antiquary Cyriacus of Ancona when the monument still existed in the early fifteenth century, is preserved in Budapest; it has been published and discussed most recently by G. Rodenwaldt in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1931, Sp. 331-334 (the reproduction used as the frontispiece of the present volume was made from his illustration). Rodenwaldt sees, in the description of the statue as *σχήμα Ἀχιλλείου* and in Procopius's comment that it represented the Emperor *ἡρωϊκῶς*, evidence of the interest in the antique conception of the Roman Empire which can be perceived in Justinian's legal policy and in his various efforts for the *renovatio* of the Imperium Romanum.¹ Justinian, however, can hardly, in Rodenwaldt's opinion, have actually been accustomed to wear the costume in which he was depicted.

There may be a question as to precisely what the significance of the statue may have been, beyond

¹ On this aspect of Justinian's reign, see, in addition to Rodenwaldt's paper, F. Pringsheim, "Die archaistische Tendenz Justinians," *Studi in onore di Pietro Bonfante* (Milan, 1930), I, pp. 551-587.

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the interpretation of it which Procopius gives. Was the statue intended simply to shew the Emperor in the *costume* of Achilles, or was it designed to depict him in the *character* of Achilles? The word *σχῆμα* which Procopius uses would favour the second interpretation, though it could support the first also; but his use of this word might easily have been purely fortuitous, and the point cannot be pressed too far. There is also the question whether the representation of Justinian in this fashion reflects only the Emperor's own personal interest in antiquity, expressing itself in a conscious revival of ancient imperial symbolism, or whether the statue represents instead a particular expression of an official conception of the Emperor and his functions which was current at that time. It is always possible, of course, that the statue simply represents an artistic tradition, so that in this case it would be this tradition (possibly even the artist's choice) which was chiefly or solely responsible for the way in which the Emperor was depicted.

Without further knowledge it does not seem proper to adopt any one of these interpretations to the exclusion of the others. There happens to be evidence (unknown to Rodenwaldt) that at least on one occasion, half a century previously, an "Achilles costume" was actually worn, in rather unusual circumstances. The usurper Basiliscus, who reigned as Emperor for twenty months in A.D. 475-476, was persuaded by his wife the Augusta Zenonis to give preferment and high office to her lover Armatus, a young fop who was the Emperor's nephew.¹ A

¹ On the episode see J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire* (London, 1923), I, p. 392.

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historian of the time tells how this advancement elated the young man beyond all measure, so that he imagined himself to be a man of valour and rode about in the costume of Achilles.¹ This episode may or may not be taken to shew that the "costume of Achilles" was considered to be specifically an imperial dress; it is to be noted that the word used to describe it is *σκευή*, "dress," and not *σχῆμα* as in the case of Justinian. The incident certainly indicates that the costume was thought to be especially appropriate to a brave commander; our knowledge does not seem sufficient, however, to permit us to find in the episode a definitive explanation of Justinian's appearance in this manner in the statue.

The origin of the costume, the characteristic part of which seems to be the headdress, is not clear, though further evidence on this point may eventually come to light.² The evidence that an "Achilles costume" was worn by Armatus helps to eliminate a difficulty which Rodenwaldt encountered in this connection. The elder Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV. 18) states that "nude statues holding a spear, modelled after young men in the gymnasia, were called Achillean." Rodenwaldt thought it necessary

¹ His conduct is described by Suidas, s.v. Ἀρμάτιος. The passage was formerly thought to represent a fragment of Malchus of Philadelphia, and is attributed to him in the *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, IV, p. 117; it now seems more likely that it comes from Candidus the Isaurian (see Bury, *loc. cit.*, nn. 1-2). The costume is mentioned as follows: καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ ἦδε ἡ ἄλη ἐπεκράτει, ὡς σκευὴν ἀναλαμβάνειν Ἀχιλλέως, οὕτω τε περιβαίνειν εἰς ἵππον . . .

² On the appearance of Roman emperors in the costumes of gods and heroes, reference may be made to A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *Römische Mitteilungen*, L. 1935, pp. 105-110.

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to suppose that the term "Achillean" indicated that there was some connection between the nude statues described by Pliny and the armed costume described by Procopius, but he had to admit that it is difficult to see precisely what such a connection might be. The episode of *Armatus* now indicates that the passage in Pliny has nothing to do with the matter, and that the origin of the costume is to be sought elsewhere.

APPENDIX II

A VALUABLE review of the original edition of this volume was published by D. S. Robertson, *Classical Review*, LV (1941), pp. 79-84 (cited here as "Robertson"). A number of the corrections and improvements suggested by Robertson are discussed below; but examination of all of the emendations proposed by him would go beyond the scope of the present Appendix.

P. ix, n. 1. Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire* has been reprinted by Dover Publications, New York, 1958.

Pp. ix-xv. For further studies of the composition of the *Buildings*, see G. Downey, "The Composition of Procopius, *De aedificiis*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXVIII (1947), pp. 171-183; idem, "Notes on Procopius, *De aedificiis*, Book I," *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson on his Seventieth Birthday*, II (St. Louis, 1953), pp. 719-725.

P. xiv. On the work of the "master-builders," see G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects: Their Training and Methods," *Byzantion*, XVIII (1946-48), pp. 99-118.

P. xvi. For a further study of some of the architectural terms discussed here, see G. Downey, "On Some Post-Classical Greek Architectural Terms," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXVII (1946), pp. 22-34.

P. xix. Professor Conant's study was published

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in the *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*, I (1946), pp. 71-78.

P. 7. With Procopius' observations on Cyrus, compare Eusebius of Caesarea, *Life of Constantine*, I, 7.

P. 9. On the topography and monuments of Constantinople, and Justinian's buildings there, see now the two volumes of R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine* (Paris, 1950), and *Les églises et les monastères* (in: *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. I^{ère} partie, Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique*, tome III, Paris, 1953). On the latter volume, see the review by G. Downey, *Speculum*, XXVIII (1953), pp. 895-899. On Justinian's building programme, see G. Downey, "Justinian as a Builder," *Art Bulletin*, XXXII (1950), pp. 262-266.

P. 11. On the meaning of the word Sophia in the name of the church, see G. Downey, "The Name of the Church of St. Sophia in Constantinople," *Harvard Theological Review*, LII (1959), pp. 37-41.

P. 11, lines 10-11. Robertson (pp. 79-80) points out that a more accurate translation would be "giving it a designation most appropriate to God."

P. 21, § 44. On the description of the pendentives, see the comment of Robertson, p. 81.

P. 21, § 46. It should be noted that the reading of the MSS., *σειρᾶ*, meaning "suspended from heaven with the golden chain," is a reminiscence of *Iliad*, VIII, 19.

P. 24, n. 1. On the use of cramps and lead, see also Diodorus Siculus, II, 8. 2.

P. 29. See K. J. Conant, "The First Dome of St. Sophia and its Rebuilding," *Bulletin of the Byzantine Institute*, I (1946), pp. 71-78.

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P. 31, n. 1. On the meaning of *pestoi*, see Robertson, pp. 79–80.

P. 37, § 19. As Robertson points out (p. 80) the meaning might be “my whole lifetime,” rather than “the whole span of eternity.”

P. 39, n. 1. Reference should be made to the description of the Blachernae, below, I, vi, 3.

P. 41, § 8. On the phrase “in beauty and in size,” see W. J. Verdenius “*κάλλος καὶ μέγεθος*,” *Mnemosyne*, ser. 4, vol. II (1949), pp. 294–298.

P. 43, § 12. Robertson points out (p. 80) that the meaning is, “For God, having chosen his own manner of becoming man . . .” (that is, by birth from the Virgin Mary).

P. 45, § 3. It has been suggested by G. Downey, *Classical Philology*, XLIII (1948), pp. 44–45, that the words *καὶ ἔπειτα* through *παρακείμενον* (“and then also another shrine which stood at an angle to this one”) are to be deleted as the addition of a scribe. For further study of the passage see A. Frolov, *Byzantinoslavica*, X (1949), pp. 131–132.

P. 51, § 14. This may be translated more accurately, “That portion of the roof which is above the sanctuary, as it is called, is built to resemble the Church of Sophia—in the centre at any rate—except that it is inferior to it in size.”

P. 53, n. 1. See G. Downey, “The Builder of the Original Church of the Apostles at Constantinople,” *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, VI (1951), pp. 53–80, and J. Vogt, “Der Erbauer der Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel,” *Hermes*, LXXXI (1953), pp. 111–117.

P. 53, § 21. “Masons” is a more accurate translation than “workmen.” On the clearing of a site

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preparatory to building a church, see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, X, iv, 60; see also his *Life of Constantine*, III, 27.

P. 59. See P. Ulyott and O. Ilgaz, "The Hydrography of the Bosphorus: An Introduction," *Geographical Review*, XXXVI (1946), pp. 44-66.

P. 63, § 5. On this church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, see L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 52, n. 2.

P. 73, § 10. The text, as Robertson points out (pp. 81-82), appears to be defective. The meaning seems to be that the court in front of the church was constructed with variegated marbles which in their colour resembled both ripe fruits and snow.

Pp. 126-127. Robertson observes (p. 80) that the paragraph division should be between § 6 and § 7, rather than between § 7 and § 8. § 7 means "And I can give further proof that Persian territory surrounds the place on every side."

P. 149, §§ 8 ff. Excavations at Zenobia have shown that the account of Procopius is surprisingly accurate; see J. Lauffray, *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, I (1951), pp. 41 ff.

P. 151, § 11. As Robertson notes (p. 80) the meaning is "detachments of soldiers" rather than "select troops."

P. 155, § 24. A Frolov, *Revue des études slaves*, XXV (1949), p. 68, with note 4, takes this passage to mean, not that Justinian erected churches and barracks, but that he built "temples" for the military insignia. However, it may not seem altogether certain that this interpretation is in keeping with the context.

P. 157, § 3. On Sergiopolis and the cult of St. 398n

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Sergius, see A. Poidebard and R. Mousterde, "A propos de S. Serge," *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXVII (1949), pp. 109-116.

P. 164, n. 1. See *Byzantion*, XIV (1939), pp. 361-378. For the history of Antioch in the time of Justinian, see G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (to be published by the Princeton University Press, 1961).

P. 172, n. 1. For the inscriptions of Chalcis, see also L. Jalabert and R. Mousterde, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, II, nos. 348-349.

P. 173, § 2. See E. Frézouls, "Recherches sur la ville de Cyrrhus," *Annales archéologiques de Syrie*, IV-V (1954-55), pp. 113, 116.

P. 175, § 4. On this church of Sts. Cosmas and Damian, see L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 81.

P. 177, § 10. On Justinian's work at Palmyra, see H. Seyrig, "Antiquités syriennes," *Syria*, XXVII (1950), p. 239.

P. 199, § 15. As Robertson observes (p. 82), the text as it stands means "There was a certain town in what was once called Lesser Armenia . . ." On the basis of *Wars*, I, xvii, 21, Robertson proposes to emend the text thus: ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις τὸ παλαιὸν <μὲν Λευκοσόροις, νῦν δὲ> μικροῖς καλουμένοις . . . This improves the passage but it does not seem an indispensable change. See A. H. Krappe, "The Leucosyrians," *Armenian Quarterly*, I (1946), pp. 101-107.

P. 205, n. 1. On the Lazi and the Tzani, see G. Moravcsik, "Byzantine Christianity and the Migrating Magyars," *American Slavic Review*, V (1946), p. 38.

P. 217, § 12. As Robertson notes (p. 80) the mean-

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ing is "which has been barbarized for a long time."

P. 225, n. 2. On *tetrapyrgia* in Syria, see A. Poidebard and R. Mouterde, "A propos de S. Serge," *Analecta Bollandiana*, LXVII (1949), pp. 109-116.

P. 225, n. 3. See A. Grabar, "Les monuments de Tsaritchin Grad et Justiniana Prima," *Cahiers archéologiques*, III (1948), pp. 49-63; C. A. R. Radford, "Justiniana Prima (Tsaritsin Grad): A Sixth Century City in Southern Serbia," *Antiquity*, XXVIII (1954), pp. 15-18.

P. 250 ff. See L. W. Daly, "Echinos and Justinian's Fortifications in Greece," *American Journal of Archaeology*, XLVI (1942), pp. 500-508.

P. 285, n. 3. On this road, see R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon* (Paris, 1945), p. 6.

P. 297, § 16. On the palace, see P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Note agiografiche*, No. 9 (1953), p. 77, n. 1 (*Studi e Testi*, No. 175).

P. 317. On the Church of St. John at Ephesus, see the *Forschungen in Ephesos* of the Austrian Archaeological Institute, vol. IV, pt. 3, *Die Johanneskirche* (1951).

P. 321, § 16. Robertson notes (p. 80) that the meaning is not "go straightway about their business," but "return to their own countries."

P. 340, § 20. For an inscription recording the construction of an earlier bridge, see H. Grégoire, "Inscriptions historiques byzantines," *Byzantion*, IV, (1927/8), pp. 465-468.

P. 343. In the *Life of Sabas* by Cyril of Scythopolis (§ 73, p. 177 ed. E. Schwartz, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, XLIX, pt. 2, 1939) it is recorded that a *μηχανικός* named Theodoros was sent by Justinian 398F

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to Jerusalem to build the new Church of the Virgin.

P. 365, § 11. Robertson observes (p. 80) that the meaning is not "the only religion which is called by the name of Libya," but "the only religion which is still called by the bare name of Libya."

P. 367, n. 5. See R. G. Goodchild, "Boreum of Cyrenaica," *Journal of Roman Studies*, XLI (1951), pp. 11-16.

Pp. 395-398. See G. Downey, "Justinian as Achilles," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LXXI (1940), pp. 68-77; Phyllis W. Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian? A Renaissance Drawing of a Byzantine Rider," *Art Bulletin*, XLI (1959), pp. 39-57; also the comments of C. A. Mango, *ibid.*, pp. 351-356.

LIST OF LATIN WORDS¹

Place-names are included only when Procopius indicates that they are Latin, and explains their meaning. S.H. (*Secret History*), B. (*Buildings*); other references are to the *Wars*.

ἄγιστα, *aggestus*, II. xxvi. 29
ἀντίφορος, (from *forum*), B. II. vii. 6
ἀσηκρήτις, *a secretis*, II. vii. 15, S.H.
xiv. 4

βαλλίστρα, *ballista*, V. xxi. 14 (cf
note on § 18), VIII. xxxv. 9

βάνδον, *bandum*, IV. ii. 1

βανδοφόρος, *bandifer*, IV. x. 4

Βερεβεντός, *bene + ventus* (meaning
explained), V. xv. 4

Βένετοι, *Veneti* (circus faction), I.
xxiv. 2, XX. xi. 32, S.H. vii.
1, 2, 6, 17, 22, ix. 33, x. 16, 18, 19,
xii. 28, xvii. 2, 3, xxix. 27, 30, 32,
33 (twice), 36

βέντος, *ventus*, V. xv. 4

βερεδάριος, *veredarius*, III. xvi. 12.
B. V. iii. 3

βέρεδος, *veredus*, II. xx. 20

βιβάριον, *vinarium*, V. xxii. 10, xxiii.
14, 18, 19

βούστα, *busta*, VIII. xxix. 5

Βουσταγαλλῶρων, *Busta Gallorum*.
VIII. xxix. 5

Δεκέμβριος, *December*, IV. iii. 28, v.
xiv. 14 (cf. critical note)

Δεκεννόβιον, *Decennovium* (*decem +*
novem), V. xi. 2

Δέλφιξ, *Delphicus* (Procopius believed
that this was a Greek word which
had been taken over into Latin),
II. xxi. 2, 3

δομέστικος, *domesticus*, III. iv. 7,
xi. 6, S.H. xxiv. 24, xxvi. 28

δοῦξ, *dux*, I. xvii. 46, B. II. vi. 9, III.
i. 28, ii. 1, iii. 8, 14, vi. 17

ἐξκουβίτωρ, *excubitor*, IV. xii. 17

κандιδάτος, *candidatus*, VII. xxxviii. 5

κασοῦλα, *casula* (*casa*), IV. xxvi. 26

κάστελλος, *castellum*, B. II. v. 9

κεντηνάριον, *centenarium*, I. xxii.

3, 4, II. iii. 7, v. 29, vi. 25, viii.

4, x. 24, xxviii. 44, VIII. xv.

3 (twice), 17, S.H. i. 33, iv.

31, xix. 7, 8, xxiv. 31, xxv. 19,

xxvi. 13, 21, xxvii. 21, xxviii.

5, 11, xxx. 19

κέντον, *centum*, I. xxii. 4

κινιστάρνα, *cisterna*, B. IV. iv. 3

κλείσουρα, *clausura*, II. xxix. 25,
B. III. iii. 2, vii. 5, IV. ii. 17

κοιαισίτωρ, *quaesitor*, S.H. xx. 9, 11

κοιαιστωρ, *quaestor*, I. xxiv. 11, 18,
V. xiv. 5, VII. xl. 23, S.H. vi. 13,
ix. 41, xx. 15

κόμης, *comes*, B. III. i. 15

Κυντίλιος, *Quintilis*, V. xxiv. 31

λεγεών, *legio*, B. I. vii. 3, III. iv. 16

λιμιτάναιος, *limitaneus*, S.H. xxiv. 12

λώρος, *lorum*, VI. v. 18, B. I. i. 68,
75

μάγιστρος, *magister*, I. viii. 2, VI.
xxii. 24, VIII. xi. 2, S.H. xvi. 5,

xvii. 32, xxi. 12, xxiv. 22, xxv.
3

Μαλεβεντός, *male + ventus* (meaning
explained), V. xv. 4

μουνδος, *mundus*, V. vii. 8

μῶλος, *moles*, B. IV. x. 7 (cf. § 15,
critical apparatus)

ὄκταβον, *octavum*, B. IV. v. 16

ὀλόβηρον, (from *verum*), S.H. xxv. 21

ὀππίων, *optio*, III. xvii. 1, IV. xx. 12

οὔγκια, *uncia*, S.H. xxv. 21

¹ Cf. E. Schwyzler, "Die sprachlichen Interessen Prokops von Cäsarea" *Festgabe Hugo Blümner*, Zurich, 1914, pp. 303-327.

LIST OF LATIN WORDS

- πακάτοι, *pacati*, B. VI. iii. 11
 πάκεν, (acc.), *pacem*, B. VI. iii. 11
 παλατινός, *palatinus*, S.H. xxii. 12
 xxiv. 25 (cf. critical note)
 παλάτιον, *palatium*, I. viii. 2, xxvi.
 11, III. xxi. 3, 4 (derivation
 from Pallas), S.H. xii. 26, xiv.
 10, 13, 18, xvii. 34, xxiv. 8, 15,
 25 (critical note), xxvi. 17, xxvii.
 10, xxix. 36, 37, B. I. x. 4, VI.
 v. 9
 πατρίκιος, *patricius*, I. viii. 5, xi.
 24 (twice), xxiv. 13 (twice),
 IV. vi. 22, VI. vi. 16, VIII. xi.
 2, S.H. xv. 25, 26, 27 (twice),
 29, 32, 34, xxvii. 17, xxx. 21, 23.
 B. I. iii. 14
 πατριμώνιον, *patrimonium*, V. v.
 1, vi. 26, S.H. xxii. 12
 πένατες, *penates*, V. xxv. 19
 πλούμια, *plumia*, B. III. i. 22
 Πόντες, (from *pons*), B. IV. vi. 15
 πόντην, (acc.), *pontem*, B. IV. vi. 16,
 18 (twice)
 πραίτωρ, *praetor*, III. x. 3, S.H. xx.
 9, 10
 πραιτώριον, *praetorium*, VI. xxii.
 24, VII. vi. 9, S.H. xxi. 1
 πριβάτα, *privata*, S.H. xxii. 12
 πρίμα, *prima*, B. IV. i. 19
 προτίκτωρες, *protectores*, S.H. xxiv. 24
 πυργοκάστέλλος, (from *castellum*),
 B. II. v. 8
 ρεφερενδάριος, *referendarius*, II. xxiii.
 6, S.H. xiv. 11, xvii. 32, xxix. 28
 'Ρῆγες, *Reges*, V. xxiii. 3
 ῥήξ, *rex*, V. i. 26, VI. xiv. 38
 ῥίπα, *ripa*, B. IV. v. 12
 'Ριπησία, *Ripesia*, B. IV. v. 11
 σεκοῦνδα, *secunda*, B. IV. i. 30
 σενάτωρ, *senator*, B. I. iii. 14
 σέπτον, *septem*, III. i. 6
 σήκρητα, *secreta*, II. vii. 15
 σιλεντιάριος, *silentiarius*, II. xxi.
 2, xxix. 31, S.H. xxvi. 28, B.
 IV. viii. 24
 στράτα, *strata*, II. i. 6, 7
 σχολάριοι, *scholares*, S.H. xxiv. 15,
 21 (twice), xxvi. 28
 ταβελλίων, *iabellio*, S.H. xxviii. 6
 φαινόλης, *paenula*, II. xxx. 54
 Φάτα, *Fata*, V. xxv. 19 (Τρία Φάτα)
 φοίδερα, *foedera*, III. xi. 4, VIII.
 v. 14
 φοιδεράτοι, *foederati*, III. xi. 2,
 3, xix. 13, 14, IV. vii. 11, xv.
 50, V. v. 2, VII. xxxi. 10, xxxiii.
 13, VIII. v. 13
 φόλλις, *follicis*, S.H. xxv. 12
 φοσσάτον, *fossatum*, B. III. vi.
 23 (Δογγίνου φοσσάτον)
 The following two oracles are quoted;
 in each case some of the readings are
 uncertain and reference should be
 made to the critical apparatus and
 notes:
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 ἐπάλξεις (*epalxeis*), battlements, B. II. i. 15-17, viii. 16, IV. ii. 4, x. 13
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- (cf. Polyb., I. xlviii. 2; Caes., *Bell. Civ.*, II. ii. 3); the "Royal Portico" at Constantinople, called *basileios stoa*, S.H. xiv. 13, and *basileos stoa*, containing four colonnades (*stoai*), about a peristyle court (*peristylas aulē*), B. I. xi. 12-14. See Introduction, p. xvi.
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- τέμενος (*temenos*), see note on B. I. iii. 17
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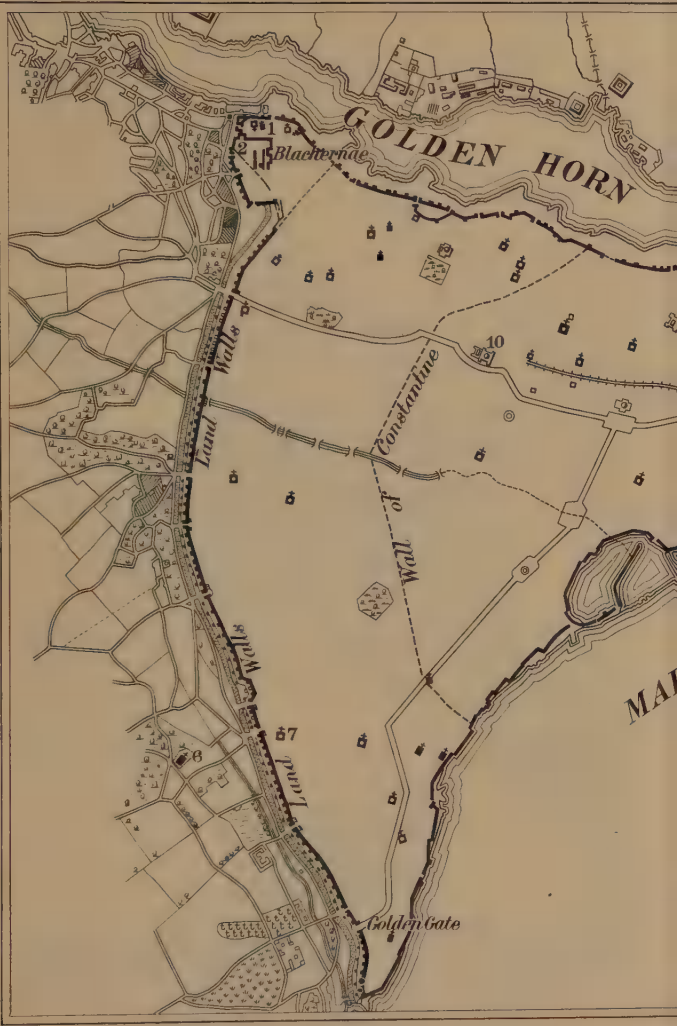
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